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THE BOOK OF THEKLA

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## THE BOOK OF THEKLA

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## THE BOOK OF THEKLA.

The peculiar interest attaching to the history of the text of the Acts of Thekla in its various forms, Greek, ${ }^{1}$ Latin, ${ }^{2}$ Syriac, ${ }^{3}$ Armenian, ${ }^{4}$ and Coptic, ${ }^{5}$ together with the problems, not yet fully solved, which that history raises, justifies the publication of another and quite unusual form of this early Christian romance. The Ethiopic "Book of Thekla" is preserved in two British Museum codices, dating respectively from the fifteenth ("A") and from the eighteenth ("B") centuries.

Brit. Mus. Orient. 689 is a ponderous fifteenth-century synaxarium of 237 heavy parchment leaves. It is well written in double columns, with forty-five to forty-seven lines to a column. The leaves measure cm .31 .9 by 46.2 . They are carefully lined on the flesh side, and are set with flesh sides facing flesh sides. The outer and lower margins are wide. There are numerous erasures and some other corrections. The ornaments are few and generally simple, and there are no pictures. The quires are not at all uniform, but in most cases consist of the usual four double leaves, or their equivalent. The Book of Thekla stands fifth among the volume's sermons and martyrdoms, and occupies foll. 31a to 34a.

Brit. Mus. Orient. 687-688 is an eighteenth-century folio of 233 parchment leaves. The leaves, which measure cm .31 by 35.3 , are gathered in quires of four-rarely of three - with flesh

[^0]sides facing flesh sides. They are carefully lined on the flesh side. The writing is fine and regular, and is arranged in three columns, of from thirty-one to thirty-three lines. There are more than fifty pictures, great and small, representing the martyrdoms described, for the volume is a synaxarium of lives of saints. The names Jesus, Christ, Paul, Thekla, and Walda Giyōrgis, who seems to have been the owner of the book, are usually in red. The Book of Thekla occupies foll. $49 a$ to $51 b$. Both manuscripts were presented to the British Museum in August, 1868, by the Secretary of State for India.

The question of the relationship of the two manuscripts at once suggests itself, but their connection does not seem to be very close. A certain amount of modification from the archaism of a fifteenth-century exemplar is indeed to be expected in an eighteenth-century copy, and it is not surprising that B's readings are very often improvements upon A's. But the divergences of B are by no means all improvements or modernizations. Once at least B unwittingly allows us a glimpse of precisely what the parent manuscript read, and that manuscript was evidently not A. In the account of Thekla's second attempted martyrdom the immediate ancestor of $B$ seems to have had a different order of words from that of A. After the words "lions and bears" $(A B)$, the sentence "and they seized her and cast her into the den of bears and lions" (A) has fallen out of the text, doubtless by an error of the eye, homoioteleuton, and must thus have ended with the same word as the preceding sentence, i. e., with the order "lions and bears." The parent manuscript thus cannot have been A , which has the order "bears and lions." The alternative explanation that one or two complete lines of $A$ were simply skipped is inadmissible, as the sentence in A begins and ends in the middle of the line. A few lines farther down the first hand of B has been guilty of a similar error, but this time of repetition. There, however, the corrector has set him right. But the distinguishing of A from the parent of B rests on broader grounds than this isolated, though instructive, instance. How frequently the two manuscripts differ a glance at the lower margins of the following pages will show.

In a comparison of $A$ and $B$ the statistics of preferred readings rather faror the younger manuseript. Its text commends itself in over 25 per cent, more cases than does that of A. In
the matter of fulness, on the other hand, the older manuscript excels in over 60 per cent. more readings than B , but B's omissions are often in the interests of clearness, if not absolutely required by the sense. In a large number of cases neither manuscript can be given the preference, both being right or both equally wrong. $B$ has the smoother, easier text. A is occasionally found using a nominative for an accusative, or a singular pronoun for a plural, while B is in general better in the matter of forms. As to roots, A rarely has a different root from B for the same meaning, but in general differences in roots are confined to the common confusions $\boldsymbol{\Lambda}$ with $\boldsymbol{\omega}, \boldsymbol{y}$ with $\boldsymbol{h}, \boldsymbol{\theta}$ with $\boldsymbol{\AA}, \boldsymbol{\phi}$ with $\boldsymbol{n}$, $\boldsymbol{\pi}$ with $\mathbf{0}$, etc., A usually preserving the better reading. $B$ shows a decided preference for $a$-long instead of short, especially in the case of $\boldsymbol{\eta}$, for which guttural it evinces considerable fondness.

The evidence supplied by a comparison of the tables of contents is not in itself decisive. To the thirty-five titles of the older manuscript the younger adds eleven. Five of these-Nos. 3, 16, $31,35,36$-are scattered through the manuscript. The remaining six appear at the end. The place of each seems to have been determined by the ecclesiastical calendar, in accordance with which the contents of both manuscripts are arranged. But numbers $25-28$ of A , in which the calendar order is not observed, are correctly rearranged in B .

It seems reasonable to conclude that, while B is a corrected and amplified manuscript of the synaxarium, it is not the immediate descendant of A, and probably not a direct descendant of A at all, but comes through a collateral line from some ancestor of A .

The numerous modifications that the monument has undergone in passing into the Ethiopic form suggest the propriety of prefacing the text with an epitome.

Paul comes to Macedonia, and, taking up his abode with Tämerēnōs, preaches the new righteousness and the doctrine of virginity. Thekla, the betrothed of Tāmerēnōs, from her window hears his discourse and believes. The importunities of Tāmerēnōs and her mother only strengthen her new convictions. She escapes by night to the house of Paul and sits at his feet. For a week these visits continue. At the end of this time her mother discovers her and tells Thekla's lover, Tāmerēnōs, who must thus
be another than the entertainer of Paul. Unable to move Thekla, Tāmerēnōs denounces Paul to the governor, who seizes him and orders him to be burned. Paul escapes death - how, is not quite clear - and is cast out of the city. Thekla's mother now renews her importunities, pointing to Paul's supposed fate as discrediting his teaching. When Thekla remains steadfast, her mother denounces her to the governor, as disobedient in refusing to marry. Repeating her refusal before the governor, she is sentenced to be burned. The maidens of the city bring fagots, and the fire is kindled. Thekla makes the sign of the cross, rain extinguishes the fire, and thunder deafens her judge. Upon her release her mother disowns her. Thekla meets a woman who owes her 1,000 pieces of money, and forgives her the debt, accepting only a few dinars. Meeting Paul's attendant on his way into the city to sell Paul's garment and buy bread for Paul and his followers, Thekla buys the garment with a part of her money and takes it back to Paul. She relates her experiences to him, and asks him to cut off her hair and disguise her as a man. which he reluctantly does. They then proceed to Thessalonica together. Thekla's mother learns of this, and at her instigation another magistrate has Thekla brought back, and condemns her to the lions for disobedience and refusing to marry. At the sign of the cross, however, the lions become harmless and play about her feet, while she breaks forth into a hymn of praise. Meantime the magistrate is mysteriously troubled all night and sends men, apparently the next morning, to bury Thekla's bones. They report that she is alive. The magistrate himself comes and releases her, and entreats her to pray for the recovery of his superior and himself. She requires him to bring Paul to do it. Paul is brought, and prays for them, and they are healed and believe.

The recent discovery of the Acts of Paul in a Coptic version, among the Heidelberg papyri, has shown that the Acts of Paul and Thekla were originally part of that work. Like all the known versions until the Coptic, the Ethiopic form of the Thekla story shows little trace, after its first sentence, of its origin as part of a larger body of Acts. It stands somewhat apart from the Syriac, Armenian, and Latin, however, in being, not a mere version, but a very free reworking of the story, with numerous omissions, transpositions, and interpolations. So frequent are
the writer's divergences from the earlier type of the monument that the question arises whether the Greek (or its equivalent in some intermediate version, e. g., the Syriac or Arabic) was actually in his hands, or had only been seen or heard by him and was written up from memory.

To undertake the creation of a text with so meager an apparatus as two manuscripts has not been deemed advisable. The text presented is therefore that of the older manuscript A, while the variants of B are collected in the footnotes. The only deviation from rigid fidelity to the text of A is in the spelling of the name of Paul, the nsual son don: being substitnted for A's occasional $\boldsymbol{K} \boldsymbol{k} \cdot \boldsymbol{n} \mathrm{h}$ : A more serious inconsistency in A is its spelling
 appears uniformly in B. But A's $\boldsymbol{\Psi} \mathscr{g}^{0} \boldsymbol{\iota} \boldsymbol{T} \boldsymbol{\lambda}$ : is perhaps not quite a meaningless variation. In the first three occurrences of the name in the Book of Thekla it stands where a Greek original would have had a genitive, ©auúpioos. The last vowel of $\boldsymbol{y}^{90} \iota_{0} \boldsymbol{T} \boldsymbol{\lambda}:$ may be a reflection of this. The remaining five occurrences of the name stand where accusatives and nominatives would have stood in a Greek original, again supposing our Ethiopic text to have had one; and for four of these A uses
 of this name suggests the possibility that the writer is struggling with a stem, not in $\delta$, but in $\nu$, like $\sum a \lambda a \mu i ́ s ~ \sum a \lambda a \mu i \nu o s$; but of this the Greek manuscripts of the Acts of Thekla show no trace. An alternative explanation is to suppose that our writer worked under the influence of the Syriac version, and misread nojs 2 as -misinnot an unnatural mistake. But Professor Nöldeke, who has very kindly looked over the whole text for me, tells me that he finds many points reflecting the influence of an Arabic version lying back of the Ethiopic. ${ }^{1}$ It seems to me probable that this intermediate version was nearer the Greek than the Ethiopic form. But the Arabic form does not seem to have been published, and so it has not been possible to follow up the suggestion of Professor Nöldeke. Assemani (Bibliotheca Orientalis, III, p. 286) simply mentions a [Vita] Theclae virginis et martyris

[^1]as present in an Arabic manuscript of lives and martyrdoms of saints in the library of the Vatican.

In the lower margins such of the readings of $B$ as seem preferable to those of A have been indicated (q. l., recte), and in some cases, where neither mansucript gives a satisfactory reading, one is recommended ( $l$.), but A's occasional obvious confusions of nominative and accusative have not always been corrected in the notes. The numerous and remarkable shortcomings of the older text have thus been supplemented and an intelligible text secured throughout. At the same time, as Professor Nöldeke reminds me, we must not lose sight of the fact that the harsh and unconventional reading may in many cases be the true and original one.

For permission to publish the text and for helpful suggestions on the form of publication I am indebted to Mr. Margoliouth and Mr. Budge, of the British Museum. Professor Nöldeke, of Strassburg, and Professor Charles, of Oxford and Dublin, have most kindly helped me on many doubtful points in the text and the translation; but they are not to be held responsible for either text or translation as a whole.

 TC: $\boldsymbol{0}$ :
















 eR20t: nKt : corr.













 Чス : 今,




























${ }^{\text {a }}$ corr. ${ }^{\text {b }}$ prim. man. Cath: : MS. A fol. 32 recto.












中心.?:














 d只 : $\boldsymbol{\omega}$

 H: $\boldsymbol{\mu} \boldsymbol{\sim}$





















 e Dillmann, Lex., s. v. n\}nतe: cites the substance of this passage from the Synaxaria, for the 27 th of the month Maskaram, thus:



[^2]







 - : ก

































 तath ：om．
 ${ }^{5}$ กAP： $\boldsymbol{\omega}$ om．recte．${ }^{6} \boldsymbol{\omega}$ 8 hgin ：corr．？q．l．；prim． 10 om．；l．©ん．trrnikn：${ }^{11} \boldsymbol{\omega}$ 13 d．C：${ }^{14}$ GTTH：








 $44 \mathrm{om} . \quad 15$ グ P 7 F ：




















 d Dillmann refuses to recognize $\mathbf{8} 3 \mathrm{Z}$ : man, given by Ludolf in his Lexicon, cf. Dillmann, Lexicon 771.


































 そうか ${ }^{19}$ ：त．小









a ？b prim．man．तौT1G：e ver．tot．ras．d corr． － $\boldsymbol{\pi} \mid \boldsymbol{n}$ ：MS．A fol． 33 verso．


 q．l． 12 由aDgit ：corr．rec．，q．l． 13 090：q．l． $1+\infty$


 Se\＆： 25 有 $\omega$ ：uld．

 man．：corr．rec．nceet ：\＄D－तो ：q．l．${ }^{36}$ prim．man．om．； suppl．corr．










































































 กћ












 c MS. A fol. 34 verso.

 ${ }^{4}$ l. ©OC7: $\quad 5$ del. man. rec.? 6 paqı: q.l. $\begin{gathered}\text { enn : }\end{gathered}$







 om. $\mathrm{K}^{\mathrm{gD}}$

37 chtr: त̂t : q.l. 38 l. OGAतt:
39 H










The translation that follows is in general based upon the text of $A$. Where the readings of $B$ have been followed, or where the readings of both have been displaced by a conjectural emendation, the fact is duly indicated in the footnotes of the first margin. While some other of B's readings are translated in these notes, the notes are not designed to cover all the significant variants of B. These textual notes are referred to by superior numerals. Superior letters refer to the critical notes which occupy the second margin. The proper names of the Ethiopic are given in their usual English forms, the only exceptions being Tāmerēnōs or Tāmerēnes (for Thamyris) and Walda Gīyōrgīs, in both of which it seemed desirable to imitate the Ethiopic closely. For the sake of uniformity, however, the former name has been thus


Professor Nöldeke, who has examined the Ethiopic proofs, kindly furnishes
 P. 73, omit note ${ }^{15}$; note 26 , add q.l.; note 36 , omit $q$. l.; note 41 , read $q$. l. for $l$.


 omit $l$. $\boldsymbol{e}$ h. $\boldsymbol{3}$ have:-P. 84 , note ${ }^{2}$, omit $q$. $l$.; nate 37 , omit $q . l$.
far transliterated in the form in which it first appears in the Ethiopic of A, viz., Tāmerēnōs. While the eight occurrences of the name in A are evenly divided between the two forms, in B Tāmerēnes always appears.

## THE BOOK OF THEKLA.

The Book of Thekla. When Paul was preaching in all lands, ${ }^{1 a}$ he came to Macedonia ${ }^{\text {b }}$ and abode in the dwelling of Tāmerēnōs. ${ }^{\text {c }}$ And he said as he was teaching and exhorting them: We have come to preach the kingdom of heaven, with the word of God. Blessed are they who beliere in their heart in the son of God, that Jesus Christ, namely the Savior of the world, who appeared in human flesh, although he was God became man that he might sare men ; and that he might make the dead to live he died and on the third day he rose; and that he might heal the sick he suffered much for men ; though he was God he became man and
${ }^{1}$ and $a d d$. A, B.
${ }^{3}$ The Ethiopic begins hardly less abruptly than the others; the Greek has 'Avaßalvov.

 tion," Wright) ; the Armenian, "Paul was coming on his way up to the city of Iconium after his persecution" (F. C. Conybeare); and the Slavonic, "When [once] Paul came up," etc. (Bonwetsch). This abruptness is fully explained by the presence of the Acts of Paul and Thekla in the recently discovered Acts of Paul. First written as part of a larger work, including the (spurious) correspondence of Paul and the Corinthians, the Acts of Paul and Thekla, the martyrdom of Paul, and, if Harnack is right (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, N. F., V, 3, p. 101), the story of the healing of Hermocrates in Myra by Paul, and the history of Paul's fight with beasts at Ephesus, the story of Thekla was used separately in celebrating the anniversary of the saint and thus became current as an independent work. That the popularity of the fragments soon exceeded that of the complete work is evidenced by Tertullian, a quarter of a century after the Acts of Paul were written; for he seems to know the story of Thekla's teaching and baptizing as a work by itself. Still it is not inpossible that by his eam scripturam he means the whole Acts of Paul, for which in any case his famous deposed Asiatic presbyter must be held responsible.
b Mucedonia: Witl this name we are introduced to a new geographical setting for the story of Thekla. The whole list of Asiatic places-Iconium, Lystra, Daphne. Antioch, Myra, Seleucia - disappears from the narrative, and with them the local color so skilfully detected by Professor Ramsay (The Church in the Roman Empire before A. D. 170, Part II, chap. xri) and Mr. Conybeare (Apology and Acts of Apollonius, otc., pp. 49-60). The writer evidently understands Macedonia to be a city, and thus decisively disclains any familiarity with that part of Europe. The only other place mentioned is Thossalonica, which is made to do duty for the Antioch of the traditional form of these Acts. The story is thus made to fall-we can hardly suppose consciously-in a later missionary journey than the Greek, Syriac, Latin, and Armenian contemplate. The change of names is doubtless due to the greater familiarity of Macodonia aud Thessalonica.
c Tämerēnōs is the Ethiopic's substitute for the Onesiphorus of the earlier form of the Acts, and conspicuously illustrates the poverty of names which is characteristic of this Ethiopic reworking. For the six place names of the Greek the Ethiopic has but two ; while, instead of nearly a ecore of personal namos in the Greek and early versions, the Ethiopic has only three. Demas and Hermogenes, Paul's false companions, disappear in the Ethiopic. as do the sons of Onesiphorus, his wife Lektra (Arm. Zononia), Titus, Theokloia (who is called simply the "mother of Thekla" in the Ethiopic), (astelius (Syr. Castelus) the govornor, Aloxander, Tryphena, and Falconilla. In Tamerenos we obvionsly have a corruption of Өápupis, the name of Thekla's betrothed, possibly due to Syriac influence. Further, the description of Paul and his meeting with Onesiphorus are lacking here.
showed patience that those who believed in his name might be patient and inherit the kingdom of heaven, and stand with him and with his Father, whose are the counsel and the wisdom and the might of God. Blessed are they who make poor their soul, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are the righteous, for they shall inherit life. Blessed are they that mourn now for their sin; them shall the righteous admonish. ${ }^{1}$ Blessed are they who hunger and thirst now, for they shall be satisfied in all their prayer when they pray unto God in their affliction. Blessed are the doers of charity, for to them belongs mercy with God. Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. Blessed are they who make peace and reconcile, ${ }^{2}$ for they shall be called children of God. Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men shall hate you for righteousness' sake; rejoice at that time and be exceeding glad (Matt. $5: 3-12$; Luke $6: 20-23$ ). Blessed is the man that follows the commandment of God, and renounces the desire of this world. Blessed art thou, if thou dost leave thy substance and dost follow the command of God. Blessed is the woman who does not marry, but renounces this world, and the virgin who does not marry, but remains by herself ( 1 Cor. 7:38), saying unto God that he who marries is the portion of Gehenna. And if a woman has married in ignorance, she shall remain with her husband, and a man also with his wife (1 Cor. 7:27). But if he marry another, he is the portion of Gehenna. But if thou dost follow the admonition of God, thou shalt inherit the kingdom of heaven. But know that the wealth of this world is vanity, and its life is vanity, and its gold and its silver, vanity, and he who loves it and he who trusts it ; and beyond all else is pride evil, for the proud God sets at naught.

Be not like all gentiles who draw near unto God with their mouth, but their heart is far from God (Matt. 6:7). Because of them(?), ye shall not hate your enemies, and those who love you ye shall not love (Matt. $5: 43,44$ ). But if ye love him who loves you, ye do no more than other gentiles (Matt. 5:46). But if your enemy hunger, feed him; and if he thirst, give him drink (Rom. 12:20) ; and if he be naked, clothe him (Matt.25:36); and if thou hast one garment, divide with him, and clothe him. And if thou doest this, thou shalt gather and pour coals of fire upon his head. And when thou seest thy neighbor's property thou shalt not spend it upon thyself, and thou shalt not covet it (Exod. 20:17), and thou shalt not say, If I live I will gain all this; for thou dost not know when ${ }^{3}$ thou prayest, that when a house is full of gold and silver, the thief comes and robs it, and leaves it bare (Matt. $6: 19$ ). Thus therefore ye men also know not the time when judgment will come from God
${ }^{1}$ Or "comfort," "encourage;" if we are to assume a Greek original, it probably had $\pi a \rho a \kappa a \lambda \epsilon \epsilon \sigma v \sigma \iota \nu$.
${ }^{2} \mathrm{Or}$ become reconciled one with another.
${ }^{3}$ MSS., "where." It is suggested that in the Greek text lying more or less remotely back of the Book ömov and $\epsilon \pi \epsilon l$ may have been confused.
and he will take your soul away (Luke 12:20), and ye shall be naked, without provision ${ }^{1}$ before God; and your glory and your soul also shall perish in Gehenna. And now reflect and take heed unto yourselves, I entreat you and beseech you in the name of God our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye be heedful of the admonition we have giren you and accept it. This, therefore, is the will of God, that ye do what ye have heard and seen and learned, and that the law of God be not a lie. ${ }^{2}$ But the people who received the law of God became alien. And now also, my brethren, love one another (John $15: 12 ; 1$ John $4: 7$ ). Why do I write to you? Because of his lore ye are admonished and taught of God ${ }^{3}$ ( 1 Thes. 4:9) in the holy gospel. And ye have heard our Lord Jesus Christ speak, who laid down his life (John 10:15, 17) for our sake ${ }^{4}$ and for the sake of those who believe in the shedding of his blood, which he shed ${ }^{5}$ for our sake that we also who believe in him might be saved from our sins (Matt. 1:21).

And he says to us in the word of the gospel: But do ye, O men, love one another, because thus God loved us (John 3:16). And he said, If ye love God, love one another (John 15:12). But there is none that has seen God (John $1: 18$ ) except the Son of man who came down from thence (John $3: 13$ ). But if ye love God, love one another (John $15: 12$ ), and love your neighbor as yourself (Matt. 19:19). And what ye will not that men should do to you, ye also shall not do to another (Matt. 7:12). And our Lord and Sarior Jesus Christ spoke all this commandment.

And now further ye shall not marry anyone whom ye find and ye shall not covet another's wife (Exod. 20:17; Deut. 5:21). But if her husband be dead, she shall dwell by herself: she shall not marry ( 1 Cor. $7: 39,40$ ). But if she is not able to refrain without a husband, she shall marry one, for it is better to marry than to commit fornication (1 Cor. 7:9). And how will ye commit fornication when ye are the body of God, and your body the body of God? Now, also, do not make the body of God the body of a harlot ( 1 Cor. $6: 15$ ), for when a man has intercourse with a woman ${ }^{6}$ they become one flesh (1 Cor. $6: 16$ ). Do not, therefore, have intercourse with a harlot; and as for one who marries a harlot, his judgment is death in Gehenna. Commit your soul to Jesus Christ, the son of God, for everyone who commits his soul before God shall inherit the kinglom of hearen. ${ }^{\text {d }}$

[^3]And while Paul was proclaiming all this and preaching, Thekla heard. And she was the beloved of Tāmerēnōs, and the window of her house and the court of the house of the dwelling of Paul were opposite each other. But now she followed, and she thirsted for all this which delighted her, and kept it in her heart. And she staid three days without going down from the window of her house. And her mother spoke to her and said to her, My child, wilt thou not come down from the window, and eat food, and drink ${ }^{1}$ ? Art thou not the betrothed of Tāmerēnōs? And the more she spoke to Thekla, the more she was unable to endure in her heart, and she came down from the window ${ }^{2}$ and desired to go unto Paul. And Thekla took her golden tire and she bribed the doorkeeper of their house and said, Put this on, and do not tell that I am going forth by myself.e And the doorkeeper took her golden tire, and let her go unto Paul. And when she came she began to roll herself beneath his feet and she licked the dust of his feet ${ }^{3}$ and his footstool, and she said to Paul, Blessed is he that hears your exhortation, and is able to observe it. And now, my lord, teach me also it all, that I may not lose the kingdom of heaven. For blessed is the man that does the commandment of God, and believes that Christ is Son of God. And he said to her, Blessed art thou, Thekla, while thou art young, to love this and seek $i t$, for blessed is the man that seeks God and Jesus Christ, and that is persecuted for his sake and is cast out and is thirsty and hungry ${ }^{4}$ and naked and dies; who possesses it all in life in this world, and lays down his life like sheep that are led to the slaughter ${ }^{5}$ (Isa. 53:7). And I trust and believe in the name of the Son of God, Jesus Christ, that everyone that gives himself up for his name's sake conquers all this, because he loved us. And in his name (and) we also will do his will, because it is certain that neither death nor life nor judgment nor that which now is nor that which is to come nor might nor height nor angels nor any other creature is able to separate us from the love of ${ }^{6}$ Christ our Lord (Rom. 8:38, 39).

And after that time for many days Thekla continued to go and return. So when her mother perceived it, she sought her and did not

| ${ }^{1}$ water $a d d$. B. | ${ }^{4}$ and is afflicted $a d d$. B. |
| :--- | :--- |
| ${ }^{2}$ of her house $a d d$. B. | ${ }^{5}$ slaughter-knife, B. |
| ${ }^{3}$ footstool, B. | ${ }^{6}$ Jesus $a d d$. B. |

[^4]find her. And while she sought her, she asked the doorkeeper, and as he was afraid, he told her. And her mother went to the house of Paul and found her. And she brought her back to her house and said, Summon Tāmerēnes to me. And they summoned Tāmerēnes. And she said to him, Hear about this thy wife. Today is the serenth day since a man whom they call Paul came, and she has learned his teaching and has received it, and behold ${ }^{1}$ she goes forth at night and goes unto him. And Tāmerēnes heard what she said, and he went unto her and said to her, My lady, what dost thou say of the thing that I have heard, even the story of thy mother ${ }^{2}$ ? Tell me ${ }^{3}$ what it is, and do not hide it from me. But if ${ }^{4}$ thou wilt not marry me, tell me. And she said to him, Go your way; but my marriage is another one. And Tāmerēnes said to her, Do not listen to this man; he deceires thee, and thou wilt lose this world for idle talk; and the gold and silver and costly raiment and purple and samite ${ }^{5}$ of your house are so much. And Thekla said to him, Let thy gold and thy silver be thine, and thy raiment and thy purple be thine; but as for me, my gold and my silver and my raiment and my purple and my nuptials are the kingdom of heaven. But let your nuptials be yours, and do not mention this matter to me. But Tāmerēnōs was angry at her and went forth and went to the house of the governor and told him and said to him, This man who has come into our country corrupts our wives, and many women hearing his teaching have left their husbands, and men moreover have left their wives, and virgins also follow his teaching and refuse to marry. And the governor said, Go, bring him. And they brought ${ }^{6}$ Paul. And the governor said to Paul, But who art thou? And what is this teaching that thou hast brought upon us in our city, to our wives that they should leave their husbands, and the husband also should leave his wife? And the virgins refuse to marry. What is it that thou sayest, therefore? And Paul said, Which is better, narrying or the commandment of God and of the Holy Spirit? And the governor said to him, See, moreover, that he disputes me! And he said, Seize him, bind him downward and put a circlet of brass upon his head and burn him with pitch and sulphur and with chaff of the floor. And they did so. ${ }^{\text {f }}$ And they were not able to burn Paul with their fire because the Holy Spirit was upon him. And the governor was amazed. ${ }^{7}$ And he said, This thing is wonderful, that the fire is not able to burn him. Cast him out of our city, take the burning of his ashes, and bear them forth, saying, Behold the burning of Paul whom we have burned, and have utterly cast forth. And they did so.
${ }^{1}$ by myself $a d d$. A.
${ }^{2}$ which she has told me add. B.
${ }^{3}$ Tell me om. B.
4 But if om. B.
${ }^{3}$ The readings of the manuscripts here are, as Professor Charles suggests, perhaps corruptions for $\epsilon \xi \dot{\xi} \mu \iota \tau o s$.

[^5][^6]And the mother of Thekla heard, and she said to Thekla, Behold, see that he was quite unable to save himself ; wilt thou, therefore, marry? And she said to her, Let thy marriage be thine own; I have a husband, even Jesus Christ the faithful, Lord of heaven and earth, in whose name Paul preaches, who is preparing the passover for me in heaven. But if thou sayest it, my mother, take all this that thou hast cooked, the wine ${ }^{1}$ also and the fatlings and the bullocks, and give them to the poor and needy. ${ }^{2}$ But as for me, in my marriage great nuptials are mine, and honorable to my mother, even to thee, in this world, and to me thy child also. ${ }^{g}$ And then her mother was angry, and she went to the governor and said to the governor, Although thou thyself also art with me, I am wronged by my child, who refuses to marry. Burn her, therefore, as ye burned Paul, because I prefer ${ }^{3}$ that she should die than that I should see her as I do not desire. And the governor said to her, Let them cast Thekla forth, and let them stone her. And her mother said, Wherever there are virgins also, therefore, command that the children of the good and great bring down fagots and see that they burn one who refuses to marry. And they did so. And the virgins of that city, the children of the great and good, brought fagots, and Thekla came down wonderfully adorned and beautiful, and her hair reached even to her heel and toes, and her color was like ivory. But the governor said, Snatch her adornment from off her, and take away her garments, and gird sackcloth upon her. And they did so. And they said to Thekla, Wilt thou marry? or wilt thou not marry and ${ }^{4}$ shall they cast thee in? And Thekla said, Why will ye cast me in? I will go in myself; and I will not marry. And they kindled the terrible and dreadful fire. And Thekla came ${ }^{5}$ to go in, and she stretched forth her hands, and signing ${ }^{6}$ her forehead she said, With the sign of Christ the Son of God, whom Paul proclaims to be the Son of God, and since I believe him, I will go in, she said. And making the sign she went into the fire with the sign of Christ, and straightway the fire fled from before her, and there rained rain from heaven and extinguished the fire, and there came a crash of thunder and deafened the ear of the governor, because he had devised evil against the servants of God; and his ear festered and putrefied and was deaf. ${ }^{\text {h }}$ And Thekla came forth from the midst of the fire, while

| ${ }^{1}$ MSS., its wine. | ${ }^{2}$ and needy om. A. |
| :---: | :---: |
| ${ }^{3}$ Reading kñ.eC: with B; A, she prefers. |  |
| ${ }^{4}$ Lit., or. |  |
| ${ }^{5}$ and said add. A. | ${ }^{6}$ Or sealing. |

${ }^{\mathrm{g}}$ For this conversation between Thekla and Theokleia there is naturally no place in the Greek or the versions, as in them Thekla is hurried from her visit to Paul's prison immediately to trial and execution. The Ethiopic thus stands alone in ascribing the arrest of Thekla to the instance of her mother.
${ }^{\mathrm{h}}$ The deafening of Thekla's judge by the thunder is peculiar to the Ethiopic, as is the episode of the debt forgiven.
there was naught that detained her. And her mother cast her off, and said to her, Thou shalt not enter into my house nor approach me. From this day thou art a stranger to me.

And Thekla tarried in a tomb (?) in the city, ${ }^{1}$ and ${ }^{2}$ while she was tarrying there she found a woman who owed her one thousand dinars. And Thekla said to her, Is it not one thousand dinars that thou owest me? And the woman said, Yes, ${ }^{3}$ my lady. And Thekla said, ${ }^{4}$ I forgive thee all of it. Give me three ${ }^{5}$ dinars. And she gave her them. And she forgave her all that she owed. For thus says the Scripture, If you forgive your brethren their fault, your heavenly Father will forgive you your sins (Matt. 6:14). And because she remembered this, she for. gave what she owed her. And then she saw the attendant of Paul, and she followed him and said to him, Where is my lord Paul? And because he was afraid, he said to her, I do not know the man, and I have not seen him. ${ }^{i}$ Now this young man was carrying the inner garment of Paul. For they were persecuting him. And many men ${ }^{j}$ followed him, and the men said to him, Alas, our master, behold we have followed thee in the enjoyment of thy discourse and we have not brought anything to eat. And now moreover we are hungry, and we will go and bring food for us all. And he said to them, Enough. ${ }^{6}$ Behold now I will bring it. And on this account he bad sent his tunic by ${ }^{7}$ his servant, that the servant might sell Paul's garment and get bread. ${ }^{8}$ And Thekla gave him two dinars ${ }^{9}$ and she took up the garment and followed the attendant of Paul to where Paul was dwelling with him. And she said to him, ${ }^{k} \mathrm{O}^{10} \mathrm{my}$ lord
${ }^{1}$ a city, $B$.
${ }^{2}$ Om. B.
${ }^{3}$ Yes, yes, B.
${ }^{4}$ And Thekla said om. A.
${ }^{8}$ The coördination of an inf. and impf. in an expression of purpose is bad Ethiopic and, as Professor Charles points out, may be due to a lapse on the part of the writer into the idiom of his Greek original, whether directly used or known through an Arabic version.
${ }^{9}$ a dinar, B. $\quad{ }^{10}$ Or Very well.
${ }^{i}$ By its departure from the older form of the story the Ethiopic is here betrayed into some inconsistency. Paul's attendant, afraid of further persecution, denies any knowledge of Paul, but seems immediately to conduct Thekla to Paul's abode. In the Greek, Syriac, Latin, and Armenian this attendant first accosts Thekla and offers his guidance to Paul, upon which thoir going to Paul's abode follows with all smoothness.
${ }^{j}$ Manymen: In the Greek and the versions theso are Onesiphorus and his wife and children; and it is the children who become hungry.
k For the responsive prayer with which Thekln's appearance before Panl is so dramatically accompanied in the Greok and the versions, the Ethiopic substitutes Thekla's brief account of her deliverance, and, omitting the (encharistic ?) meal, procoods with Thekla's request that Paul cut her hair. In the Ethiopic he does this, though with reluctance; but in the Greek, Syriac, and Armenian the hair-cutting soems to be postponed. Of the "seal of baptism" the Ethiopic has no trace.

Paul, verily the Lord whom thou dost worship is great, and I have seen that heaven obeys him. Verily he puts out the fire and judges him who oppresses the servants of God. And now also they laid hold of me and cast me into the fire for not marrying, because I am wedded ${ }^{1}$ to God and do not desire this world. For he that marries is of this world, and ${ }^{2}$ the word of the Scriptures which thou dost preach proclaims it. And now, therefore, do thou rise up and cut off my hair and gird me, and I will follow thee, and I will be the handmaid of God. ${ }^{3}$ And Paul answered her and said to her, Truly I have heard of thy faith. God will preserve thee because all thy kinsfolk rejoice. But now I am not able to cut off thy hair and gird thee. And it is thy ${ }^{4}$ beauty on account of which it is impossible. Thou art very exceedingly beautiful, and thou art young, who hast not been proved; and if perchance thou dost err in the manner of the young who do not know ${ }^{5}$ even a very little, thou wilt go on and this thy faith then will be destroyed after the manner of the error that has been committed. Now therefore wait a little. And Thekla laughed and said to him, He who preaches does not doubt himself. See, and do not thou also be unbelieving. And ${ }^{6}$ know certainly that the Holy Spirit will help me. And then Paul wondered and said to her, Thou speakest truly, my child. And he rose up and cut off her hair and girded her; and they went to Thessalonica. ${ }^{1}$

And when her mother heard that she had cut off her hair and girded herself, she wept and went unto another governor, the minister of the
${ }^{1}$ Reading $\boldsymbol{A} \cap \mathbf{n O} \mathbf{A}$ : "I am rich" or "I am wedded." Possibly a form of n^n: "to be separate" is meant; cf. avnn't : "deaconess," 1 Tim. 5:11.
${ }^{2}$ from add. A.
${ }^{3}$ and will do the will of God add. B.
${ }^{4} \mathrm{Om}$. A.
${ }^{5}$ Lit., have not seen. The text in this sentence is very obscure.
${ }^{6}$ Do thou also $a d d$. B.

[^7]one whose ear the thunder deafened. And she said to him, Is Thekla stronger than all the governors of the land? She has cut off her hair and girded herself, and she refuses to marry, and she governs herself while her mother is still alive. Will ye not help me ${ }^{1}$ to judge ${ }^{2}$ her? And the minister of him whom the thunder deafened said to her, Thekla is hard to deal with; she is stronger than all; go, bring her, and take her. And they found her in Thessalonica. And they laid hold of her and brought her to the governor. And he said to her, ${ }^{3}$ Art thon stronger than all? Thou dost cut off thy hair and gird thyself, and dost thou refuse ${ }^{4}$ to marry? What sayest thou? And Thekla answered him and said to him, I am thine, I am not strong. ${ }^{5}$ My defender is great, and unto him I commit my soul. He will deliver me from the hand of the governors and from everything that I fear. Now, therefore, what sayest thou? And the governor said to her, Let me see then that thou art safe. And she said ${ }^{6}$ to him, As those of old saw, thou shalt see. And the governor said to her, Moreover therefore let me see what ${ }^{\top}$ will save her. Go, cast her into the den of lions and bears. And they took her and cast her into the den of bears and lions. ${ }^{8}$ And when they came to the door of the den of bears and lions, she spread out her hands again according to her custom and signed ${ }^{9}$ herself with the sign of the cross, and at its door she signed ${ }^{9}$ in the name of Jesus, Son of God, and she said, Now I will go in, since the Holy Spirit helps me. And on account of this she rejoiced. And it seemed to those who brought her that the beasts would devour her. But when the beasts saw her, they rose up and worshiped her, and they began to lick her and to roll at her feet. But she spread out her hands and began to pray. And she said,

My soul praises ${ }^{10}$ God who was about the doing of his mercy before the world, ${ }^{11}$ and who is forever and ever God; who dies not; who made heaven and earth and all that is in them, with a word; who made the sea and all that is in it (Exod. 20:11); who made man in his image and in his likeness (Gen. 1:26). He made me, who believe in his name and in his might and in his wisdom and in his understanding ; at whose word it was done; he who commanded and everything was; and he was pleased and everything was created. Although he was God, he became like man, and he was man and was manifested. And although he was God, he died, and on the third day he arose that he might make the dead to live and save those who believe on his name; who likewise bowed the heavens ${ }^{12}$ and came down (2 Sam. 22:10; Ps. 18:9), and ascended and sat down on the right hand of his Father, having sat there before; and

[^8]he is forever Father and Son and Holy Spirit. He is one, loving man, and he is patient, he is compassionate; who does not make our enemies to rejoice over us. And he has destroyed the flame of fire and blunted the teeth of the lions. To thee belong glory and praise, and to thee belongs holiness, to Father and Son and Holy Spirit.

And while Thekla prayed thus, there came one to see whether the beasts had deroured her or she was alive. For because they had put her in, ${ }^{1}$ this latter governor, the minister of him whom the thunder deafened, was tormented all night and did not know what tormented him. And he said, Go therefore, look for ${ }^{2}$ the bones ${ }^{3}$ of Thekla; if you can find them, we will bury them and be safe from this torment. And when they went to see her, they found her ${ }^{*}$ alive. And they returned to the governor and told him that she was alive. And the governor said to them, Let us go. And when they were come, they said, Praised be God who has saved thee, thy Lord whom thou dost worship, and hast chosen and loved; ${ }^{5}$ for from the time that I sent thee among the lions, behold I have been tormented until now. Come, come forth and pray for me and for the governor ${ }^{6}$ whose ear has been putrefying until now.

And Thekla said to him, Therefore I cannot pray for thee and for the governor, unless ye bring Paul; he shall pray for you. And he said to her, Is he then alive? Have I not heard that they have burned him and cast forth his bones? And she said to him, Yes, me also ye both burned, ${ }^{7}$ and ye cast forth my bones. And they believed and sent to call Paul. And Paul came and prayed for the governor whose ears the thunder deafened, and for the other also, his nearest minister, who was tormented. And both of them lived, by the might of Jesus Christ ${ }^{8}$ forever and ever. Amen and amen. ${ }^{9}$

| ${ }^{1}$ he had put her in, B. | ${ }^{4}$ they saw her and found her, B. |
| :--- | :--- |
| ${ }^{2}$ Lit., see. | ${ }^{5}$ who has chosen and loved thee, B. |
| ${ }^{3}$ Lit., bone. | ${ }^{6}$ also $a d d$. B. |

${ }^{8}$ And they both believed on the name of Jesus Christ. So, Lord, heal of disease of soul and body thy servant, Walda Gīyōrgìs, $a d d$. B; for ever and ever om. ${ }^{\text {m }}$
${ }^{9}$ And me also, who have written it, thy servant, a sinner and wrongdoer, forgive my sin and bless $a d d$. B.

[^9]THE MARTYRDOM OF CYPRIAN AND JUSTA

The Department of Biblical and Patristic Greek of the University of Chicago proposes to issue, from time to time, Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature Related to the New Testament. These Studies will be grouped in three series: I, Texts ; II, Linguistic and Exegetical Studies; III, Historical Studies. The volumes in each series will be issued in parts.

Ernest D. Burton.
Shailer Mathews.
Clyde W. Votaw.
Edgar J. Goodspeed.


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## THE MARTYRDOM OF CYPRIAN AND JUSTA

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## THE MARTYRDOM OF CYPRIAN AND JUSTA.

The story of Cyprian and Justa, or Justina, has long been known and has been published in Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Arabic. It is believed to have been the germ of plays by Calderon, Marlowe, and Goethe, in whose Faust and Mephistopheles Cyprian and his demon live again. The origin of the story and the historical confusion upon which it ultimately rests have already been treated with characteristic skill and comprehensiveness by Professor Zahn, ${ }^{1}$ to whose book every student of the Cyprian legend owes much. With the great African bishop Cyprian of Carthage tradition has confused a Cyprian of Antioch, and about their composite has been woven such a romance of persecuted constancy as the ancient church had come to rejoice in. "Old men and maidens" proved combinations irresistibly attractive to the martyrologists, and Cyprian and Justa is one of their masterpieces. Cyprian of Carthage suffered martyrdom in A. D. 258. More than a century later Gregory of Nazianzus, in an oration on his festival, reflects the story since connected with the names of Cyprian and Justina, which thus seems to have sprung up within a hundred years after Cyprian's death.

In the Greek the story of Cyprian and Justina consists of three parts: I. The Acts of Cyprian and Justina; II. The Repentance of Cyprian; and, III. The Martyrdom of Cyprian and Justina. ${ }^{2}$ It is to the first of these that the plots of Calderon, Marlowe, and Goethe have been traced. In it the wizard Cyprian tries through his subject demons to win Justina from her persistent virginity to marriage with a pagan lawyer. Her triumph over the wizard through the sign of the cross so impresses him with the virtue of that symbol that he abjures his magic arts and seeks Christian baptism. Finally he so advances in his new faith that Anthimus, bishop of Antioch, names him as his successor, in

[^10]which capacity he appoints Justina a deaconess and abbess of a cloister. The Repentance of Cyprian presents the story of Cyprian's life up to his conversion, told by himself in the first person. The Martyrdom of Cyprian and Justina recounts their arrest at Antioch at the instance of Eutolmius, count of the East, and their removal to Damascus for trial. The tortures to which they are there subjected by Eutolmius are borne with such constancy that he, in despair of overcoming their resolution, despatches them to Nicomedia to be judged before Diocletian. By him they are promptly sentenced to the sword. One Theoktistus, coming up at the hour of execution and saluting Cyprian, is summarily executed with them.

Originally Greek, the martyrdom passed into Latin, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic. The Greek has long been accessible in Acta Sanctorum, Sept., pp. 242 sqq., where the text is based upon two Paris manuscripts, Codd. Par. 520 and 1485. A better Greek text, in the opinion of Professor Zahn, is preserved in Cod. Par. 1468, with which our Ethiopic shows some coincidences. The Greek has recently been published afresh from a Sinaitic manuscript by Mrs. Gibson, to whom students of Cyprian are further indebted for the first publication of the Arabic text. ${ }^{1}$ Of the two Latin forms of the martyrdom the later has been published in Martène-Durand, III, 1645-50, while the earlier is known only through the notes of the Bollandist editor Klee. In Syriac the story has lately been published by Bedjan from a Berlin manuscript, ${ }^{2}$ and by Mrs. Lewis from the Sinaitic Palimpsest and from two British Museum manuscripts, ${ }^{3}$ one of them dating from the fifth century. The great age of this codex sufficiently evidences the antiquity of the Syriac version, and may even suggest the dependence upon it of versions like the Arabic or Ethiopic.

It should be added that about A. D. 440-60 the empress Eudocia, wife of Theodosius II., worked the three parts into three books of Homeric verse, ${ }^{4}$ of which Photius has given a concise abstract in his Bibliotheca. ${ }^{5}$ The Syriac presents the first and

[^11]third parts as a continuous whole, and the Arabic seems to do the same, while in the Ethiopic the third part alone is preserved. The presumptive dependence of the Ethiopic upon the Syriac or Arabic texts, as extant, is thus rendered at least doubtful, and the striking correspondences between the Ethiopic and Professor Zahn's preferred manuscript of the Greek further increase the doubt. It has long been recognized that Ethiopic literature consists largely of translations from Coptic and Arabic, and several points in these Ethiopic martyrdoms seem best explained by translation from the Coptic. That the Ethiopic cannot depend upon the Arabic published by Mrs. Gibson is clear from the presence in the Ethiopic of elements not in the Arabic, but in the Greek and Syriac. It is probable that some Coptic form lay between the Ethiopic and the parent Greek, ${ }^{1}$ of which last the Paris manuscript quoted by Zahn stands nearest it in type of text.

The Ethiopic text of Cyprian and Justina preserved in three British Museum manuscripts represents only the third of Professor Zahn's three parts-the Martyrdom. Brit. Mus. Oriental 689 ("A") has already been fully described in these pages." In it Cyprian and Justa (for so the Ethiopic, like the Syriac, calls the heroine) stands eighth, foll. $45 a$ to $47 b .^{3}$ As this is a fifteenth century codex, and the oldest manuscript preserving the Ethiopic text, its text has been printed in the following pages, the readings of the later manuscripts being gathered in the footnotes. In Brit. Mus. Oriental 687-8 ("B"), an eighteenth century manuscript, already described in these pages, ${ }^{4}$ Cyprian and Justa occupies foll. $61 a$ to $62 b$, standing ninth in order of contents. ${ }^{5}$ Brit. Mus. Oriental 686 ("C") is a well-written

[^12] tion of S. John the Baptist.
codex of 286 leaves, measuring about 20 by $15 \frac{7}{8}$ inches. The writing is in three columns, with $37-39$ lines to the column. Like A and B, it is primarily a martyrology. Cyprian and Justci stands eighth among its titles, ${ }^{1}$ occupying foll. $43 b$ to $45 a$. References in the last colophon to the reign of ' $\bar{I} y \bar{\prime}$ 'as, son of ''yyāsū II., fix the date of the manuscript between the years 1755 and 1769 .

The Ethiopic text printed is that of A. In the footnotes the first margin contains variant readings reflected in the corrections, etc., of $A$; the second, all the variants of $B$ and $C$ from the text of A . Where the text of A is unintelligible, a reading of B or C has been recommended ( $q . l$., recte) in these footnotes, or if all are unsatisfactory a new reading has been proposed. It is believed that a readable text has thus been secured, without confusing the textual witness of the oldest manuscript, as printed, by possibly arbitrary emendations. In recommending readings, however, confusions of nominatives with accusatives and of indicatives with subjunctives have not been rigidly revised.

Professor Nöldeke has very kindly gone over the following text and translation in proof, and, while he is by no means to be held responsible for either, he has contributed a number of helpful suggestions, which the writer very gratefully acknowledges. I am further indebted to Dr. Enno Littmann for a number of suggestions, received since the appearance of the text in the American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, Vol. XIX, some of which it has been possible to incorporate into the present publication. Thanks are also due the authorities of the British Museum for the courtesies extended to the writer in his earlier work on the manuscripts, and especially to Mr. W. E. Crum, whose kind co-operation secured for the writer the photographs from which these texts are published.

[^13]













a $\boldsymbol{e}$ 蛙: prim. man.












 32 HA: $\mathrm{C}, q$. l. $\quad 33$ otgog: BC, q. l.













































 om. prim. man., suppl. corr. $\quad{ }^{33}$ ones: B, ăgrin : C. ${ }^{34} \mathrm{ht}$ :



 om. BC. $\quad{ }^{15}$ R.



















\[

$$
\begin{aligned}
& { }^{\text {a }} \text { prim. man. } \boldsymbol{\lambda} \mathrm{H}: \quad{ }^{\mathrm{b}} \text { prim. man. } \boldsymbol{\omega} \cdot \boldsymbol{\lambda} \boldsymbol{\lambda} \text { : :? }
\end{aligned}
$$
\]





 C': C. $\quad 18$ om. C. $19 \boldsymbol{\omega}^{2} \mathrm{~m} \uparrow \mathrm{R}: \mathrm{BC} . \quad{ }^{20} \mathrm{H}$ om. B.










































 n’马en: BC. ${ }^{38}$ om. C. $\quad 39$ om. B prim. man.; suppl. corr. 40 †प4त: B, Tu4n: C.

















[^14]




















































[^15] －














a MS． 3 and ：？













 ¢中 ：中尺


## COLOPHON OF MS. C.

   

## TRANSLATION.

The conflict and martyrdom of the holy Cyprian and of the holy Justa ; ${ }^{1}$ while the word of the prophets is being fulfilled in these days and the word of our Lord Jesus Christ about the seed of wheat and tares, how they grew, and how Novatus ${ }^{2}$ was put to shame and conquered by faith, and how the people were scattered and the wolf.

The holy Cyprian was famous in all lands because he wrote many books, and many who were gone astray he gathered to himself from the wiles of the evil wolf, the serpent of old, envying him his people. And Eutolmius was count of the region of the East when Cyprian the teacher of the Christians was setting aside the glory of the gods and was healing everyone, with a virgin whose name was Justa, and they were disturbing everyone with the books, and their doings were heard of in the region of the East and in every place. And Eutolmius was wroth and he ordered that they cast them into chains and guard them closely ${ }^{3}$ and bring them to the city of Damascus. And when they had brought them, then Eutolmius asked them saying, Tell me, Cyprian, art thou the teacher of the Christians, who didst aforetime lead many astray by thy sorcery by the might of the gods? But now by the sorcery of him who was crucified thou dost bring error and dost disturb the ears of men, and dost advance and exalt him who was crucified above the living gods. And the holy Cyprian spoke and said to him, Most wretched man, why hast thou adorned thyself with insolence, and dost thou speak also with pride in the sorceries of demons? For I also once, when I was, with you, equipped with sorcery and with the wisdom of the pagans, since I was blind, slew many and made many commit fornication, and from all this Christ saved me by the hand of his holy virgin. And there was a good scholar, ${ }^{4}$ of the house of Claudius, who loved this
${ }^{1}$ The Greek and Arabic call the maiden Justina, while the Syriac, like the Ethiopic, has Justa.
${ }^{2}$ Eth. Nawestos. As in Eusebius, H. E., VI, 45, 1, the Roman Novatianus is meant. Cf. Zahn., op, cit.
${ }^{8}$ Lit., with laws or punishments.

 transliteration of $\sigma \chi 0 \lambda a \sigma \tau \kappa \kappa$ s. "\&C: may have been due to connecting 'A ${ }^{\prime} \lambda a t \delta \eta$ s with $\dot{\alpha} \gamma \lambda a \delta s$.
virgin, and he was not pleasing to her. ${ }^{1}$ And then he promised her a marriage that was according to law, and he has been unable until now to persuade her. And he came unto me and besought me to heal him of the madness of his love. But I, since I believed the books of sorceries, sent a demon to her, and she withstood him with the sign of Christ. And a third time I sent the chief of the demons, and he too returned conquered by that sign. And therefore I desired to know the power of this sign, and I adjured that demon, while angels burned him. ${ }^{2}$ And he told it all, that he was the discoverer of evil and of every work of wickedness. And then I came to myself. ${ }^{3}$ Then I wrote this to him that was bishop before me, and I brought the books of sorcery unto him while all the honorable men of the city were present, and I burned them with fire. And now I beseech thee to leave the other superstition and to return unto the Lord, and the Lord shall be praised. And then thou shalt know the invincibleness of the power of Christ. And Eutolmius was exceedingly incensed, and he did not dispute his opinion with him, and he commanded them to hang him up and comb him, and to take turns in beating that blessed virgin also with hard thongs of leather. And the holy virgin said, Praised art thou, O Lord, because when I was unworthy also and when I was a stranger once thou didst make me thine according to thy will to be beaten for thy name's sake. And the soldiers tired themselves out in beating her, while that holy virgin also glorified God. And he ordered them to stop. And then the holy Cyprian spoke. While they were combing him exceeding much, he had not even said anything, but ${ }^{4}$ then the blessed Cyprian spoke and said to Eutolmius, Why dost thou exalt thyself, tyrant, against God? And thou art deceitful toward the hope of Christ and alien from the kingdom of heaven, into which I desire to enter, that it may ${ }^{5}$ be mine on account of this torture. And Eutolmius spoke saying, If thou seekest the kingdom of heaven, thou shalt suffer every kind of torture, even greater than this. And he ordered them to lead him and cast him into prison. And he ordered them to put the holy virgin in the house of Teratina. ${ }^{6}$ And when she came into that house the whole of the house shone with the grace of Christ.

And after a few days again he ordered them to bring them, and when they came he said to the holy Cyprian, Do not for the sake of a mortal man foolishly consent to die. And the holy Cyprian said to him, That death which is for God, for those that love him secures life eternal. And when he heard this he took counsel and meditated, and he ordered them to heat a frying-pan and to cast into it pitch and fat and wax, and

[^16]to cast the blessed one into it, with the holy virgin. And the flame did not touch them. And the blessed Cyprian entered first into the fryingpan. And the blessed one entered in her turn, and the evil serpent of old cast fear into her heart. And she came and stood by it. And the blessed Cyprian said to her, Come, in the endurance of Christ, thou that hast opened the gate of heaven, and hast made me to see the glory of Christ. And how art thou now conquered, who didst confound the demons and didst hold their chief as nothing, by putting on the sign of Christ? How dost thou now let thyself be deceived by the sting of the adversary? And then making the sign of the cross she entered into the frying-pan. And they were both of them refreshed as with ${ }^{1}$ the dew of Hermon. And the blessed Cyprian said, Glory be to God in heaven, and peace on earth. For when Satan fell from heaven peace was wrought in it all, ${ }^{2}$ and from the time when Christ came into the world darkness was ordained for Satan, and by the power of the sign of his cross he forgives his servants, and he cast Satan down to his abode in Gehenna. And for this I praise thee, O Lord God of the fathers, and by thy mercy I pass through this torture for thy name's sake, that this our offering of sacrifice also may be fragrant with good odor. And when Eutolmius heard this, he said, I will overcome the madness of your folly. And Athenus ${ }^{3}$ his friend who presided with him said to Eutolmius, Your excellency bids me ${ }^{4}$ ascend into the heat of this frying-pan in the name of our gods, and we will conquer this so-called might of Christ. And Eutolmius gave him permission, and Athenus drew near unto the frying-pan and said, Great is the god Herakles ${ }^{5}$ and the father of the gods Asklepius who gives life unto men. And when he drew near unto the frying-pan, the fire found him, and his belly was rent asunder and his bowels gushed out. And Cyprian was serene, praising God with the holy virgin. And when Eutolmius saw this, he said, I fear that the might of Christ is unconquerable, and he has made me sad, for Christ has slain me my excellent friend.

And he called Terentinus ${ }^{6}$ his kinsman and said to him, What shall I do to these robbers? And Terentinus said to him, Beware of these holy ones and contend not with these holy ones, because the might of the Christians is unconquerable; but send them unto the king and tell him about them. And Eutolmius wrote thus saying: To Cæsar the great, lord of the earth, Diocletian, greeting. In accordance with the statute of thy kingdom, I have arrested Cyprian, the teacher of the Christians, with a virgin whose name is Justa, of the region of the East. And behold in the report of his case ${ }^{7}$ thou shalt hear the punishments and torture with

$$
{ }^{1} \text { Lit., of. } \quad{ }^{2} \text { Or, everyone. }
$$

${ }^{3}$ Gr. Sin. and Act. Sanct., 'Aөa ${ }^{1} \alpha \sigma$ os: Syr., A thenus.
${ }^{4}$ Gr., $\epsilon l \kappa \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \dot{v} \epsilon \iota \mu \epsilon \dot{\eta} \dot{\nu} \mu \epsilon \tau \epsilon \rho \alpha \dot{\alpha} \rho \epsilon \tau \dot{\eta}$. $\quad{ }^{5}$ So the Gr.; Syr., Zeus.
${ }^{6}$ A, Tertaras, Terteros; B, Terontius, Tertius ; C, Tertianus, Terentius? Gr., Syr., Terentinus.
${ }^{7}$ Lit., his writing.
which I punished them, and they did not obey. ${ }^{1}$ And behold I have sent them unto thine authority. And when the king read, he wondered at the way the blessed ones had been tortured, and he deliberated with his friends about torturing them again. And they said to him, Not so, it is well ${ }^{2}$ that we let them be and assail not power that is invincible. ${ }^{3}$ And he said, Inasmuch as Cyprian, teacher of Antioch, and the virgin Justa have chosen for themselves the vain teaching of the Christians and have not desired life, but have preferred death, these shall suffer by the sword and shall die.

And they led away the holy one with the virgin to a river named Galius, ${ }^{4}$ in the land of Nicomedia, and he asked that they wait for them two hours for prayer. And he made mention of all the churches that were in the world and of all the servants of Christ. And he set the virgin at his right hand and sealed her with the sign of Christ, and he prayed that they crown her first, ${ }^{5}$ and it was done. And he said, Praise unto Christ. And there was a man whose name was Theoktistus, who had come from the country, and he saluted ${ }^{6}$ the holy one. ${ }^{7}$ And there was looking on a councillor of King Diocletian, and straightway he ordered them to cut off his head. And after him they beheaded the holy Cyprian also. And he ordered them to give their bodies to the dogs to eat.

And for many days, even for six ${ }^{8}$ of them, they guarded their bodies, cast forth without to the wild beasts. And against them faithful and good and righteous men, hearing that the holy ones had been crowned, because he was also a man of their own land, even a Roman, lying in wait for them six days, day and night, [and] deceived all those who were guarding them and took away the bodies of the holy ones which were more precious than gold and gems, and they brought ${ }^{9}$ honor to the country of Rome. And when the faithful heard the manner of their conflict, with faithful believers they brought them unto Rufina, a prophetess, ${ }^{10}$ of the family of Carolinus, ${ }^{11}$ and she took the bones of the holy ones and put them in a good place, the name of which was 'Esphōrū Qaladaphōrū, ${ }^{12}$

$$
{ }^{1} \mathrm{Or}, \text { assent. } \quad{ }^{2} \mathrm{Or}, \text { It is not well, etc. }
$$

${ }^{3}$ Syr. has simply, Do not withstand the great power of God.
${ }^{4}$ Gr., $\pi \circ \tau \alpha \mu \hat{q} \tau \iota \nu \iota \Gamma \alpha ́ \lambda \lambda \varphi$. $\quad{ }^{5} \mu \hat{\eta} \pi \omega s \delta_{\epsilon} \lambda \iota \alpha \sigma \eta$, the Gr. explains.
${ }^{6}$ So Gr. Act. Sanct., brut not Gr. Sin., which here makes Theoktistus the councillor representing Diocletian at the execution.
${ }^{7}$ Masc. Cyprian is, of course, meant. ${ }^{8} \mathrm{~A}$, three.
${ }^{9}$ Lit., cast, A; BC, we brought ; om. and.

${ }^{11}$ So BC ; A, Kirasinnos; Syriac, the Claudians; Gr. Act. Sanct., 'Pou $\langle\nu \eta$

 1468, and with a form of this latter reading the translator seems to be struggling. Eudocia, according to Photius, had $\tau \hat{\psi}$ K $\lambda a v \delta l o v ~ \phi \delta \rho \varphi, ~ " t h e ~ F o r u m ~ o f ~$ Claudius," to which our Ethiopic comes surprisingly close. Zahn regarded the text of this Paris codex as most near the original (Cyprian von Antiochien, p. 63).
that all who come unto their bones may glorify God and our Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit.

This was done in the reign of Diocletian and Maximian, in a city of the region of Nicomedia, on the fourth day before the Kalends of October, ${ }^{1}$ on the fifth day of the month Dius, ${ }^{2}$ which is in Greek the month Atēr and in Ethiopic the month Hedār ${ }^{3}$-but for us, while Christ is our king for ever and ever. Amen.

On him who writes it, and on our father John who has it written, and on him who reads it, and on him who interprets it, and on him who hears it, may God have mercy upon us all together in the kingdom of heaven. Amen.

## COLOPHON OF MS. C.

The martyrdom of the holy Cyprian and of the holy Justa is finished. May their blessing be with the soul of their lover 'Īyāsū and his son, our king 'Īyo'as, and their mother, our queen Walatta ${ }^{4}$ Gīyōrgīs (and with their handmaiden Walatta ${ }^{4}$ Shelāsē add. corr.), for ever and ever. Amen.


${ }^{2}$ The first month of the Macedonian year. While in Greek papyri Dius sometimes corresponds to the Egyptian Pachon (April 26-May 25; cf. Grenfell and Hunt, Amherst Papyri, II, p. 51, B. C. 159), it is here used in the traditional sense October-November; cf. Clinton, Fasti Hellenici, 3:349. By Atēr the Syriac month Ādār seemed to me to be meant, but Dr. Littmann has suggested that the writer should have written 07.48 : instead of n8.CA: and probably had in mind the Coptic month a $\omega \omega \rho$, which corresponds

${ }^{8}$ November-December. The Gr. naturally lacks the datings in Atēr and Hedār, just as the Syriac lacks the Ethiopic.

4 Walatta, daughter of.

THE STORY OF EUGENIA AND PHILIP

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SHANGHAI

# AND PHILIP 

BY<br>EDGAR J. GOODSPEED<br>UNIVERSITYOF CHICAGO

PUBLISHED IN 1931

OFFIZIN゙ HAAG-DRUGULIN AG., LEIPZIG

## THE STORY OF EUGENIA AND PHILIP

The story of Eugenia of Alexandria has long been known in Greek and Latin. ${ }^{1}$ The Syriac version of it has been published by P. Bedjan, from British Museum manuscripts, and by Mrs. Lewis, from the SyroAntiochene palimpsest. ${ }^{2}$ While the Ethiopic form on the whole represents a virtual rewriting of the legend, it is often in substantial agreement with these more ancient forms. Such material departures from the older narrative as the Ethiopic displays are clearly due to confusion or carelessness on the part of the maker of the Ethiopic, or of its parent (Coptic?), version, rather than to any commingling of legendary material from other sources.

The Ethiopic form of the story of Eugenia and Philip is preserved in three British Museum manuscripts, Oriental 686 (C), 687-8 (B), and 689 (A), which have been already described in these pages. ${ }^{3}$

As in the publication of the Ethiopic forms of Cyprian and Pelagia, the text of the oldest manuscript, $A$, is printed, all the variants of $B$ and C being collected in the footnotes. Further than the recommendation of a few readings or occasionally, where all the manuscripts are obscure, of an emendation, there has been no effort to construct a text. In the translation, the inconsistencies of the Ethiopic in referring to the disguised Eugenia now as masculine, now as feminine, have been allowed to stand unreconciled.

The writer's thanks are due to the authorities of the British Museum, for permission to publish, and to Dr. Enno Littmann, who while connected with Princeton University contributed many helpful suggestions.

[^17]

























































${ }^{2}$ corr.; prim. man. Ânत̂nce:










 +













































































 $\boldsymbol{n}^{12}$ : $\boldsymbol{\omega}$






















 ズ?























[^18]





























 C. ${ }^{36}$ nH户 B; $\boldsymbol{\omega}$ пl户 C, q. l. ${ }^{30}$ तs.s. : B. ${ }^{0} 0$ gotit : BC, q. l. ${ }^{41}$ nem : BC, q. l.; add. तो


























































[^19]


















a suppl. corr.



































[^20]
























































${ }^{\text {a }}$ corr. a corr.; man. prim. G\&A\& C :?






























${ }^{\text {a corr.; man. prim. } \boldsymbol{p N q}^{\circ}: ~ ? ~ b ~ M S . ~ n त t r i l i t: ~ e ~ c o r r . ; ~ m a n . ~}$






















## THE STORY OF EUGENIA AND PHILIP

In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God. The story of the holy Eugenia and the story of her father the holy martyr Philip the patriarch. Now there reigned over the country of Rome an unbelieving and wicked tyrant whose name was Commodus, who worshipped idol gods. He put over the city of Alexandria the pagan man whose name was Philip. And he had a wife who believed, but in secret for fear of her husband. And she bore him a daughter, stately and beautiful, and her name was Eugenia. And when the wretch had come and entered into the city of Alexandria, he commanded them to close the churches and he drove out the Christians. And his daughter was a virgin; and she learned all the wisdom of Rome and all the interpretation of books. And when it befell that her days were fifteen years, many princes sought her from her father to marry her. And the wicked prince her father spoke to her and said to her, 0 my daughter, know that many princes and kings seek thee from me. Tell me what thou dost wish. What hast thou to say? And she answered her father and said to him, The love of wealth and riches does not become thee, 0 my father, but rather love of mercy and love of goodness and the doing of good works.

And one day after this, when the blessed one was reading the letter of Paul, and was interpreting his excellent words, she learned the faith of his spiritual words, and there entered into her heart the desire for repentance and for the garment of monasticism. And one day she asked her father to command her to go out to the country of the city of Alexandria, that she might find comfort and have her eyes opened. And when her father heard this, he rejoiced greatly, and he sent with her two eunuchs, handsome and pure, to guard her until she should return. And while she was walking and finding comfort, she came to a convent of monks, and she heard them read the psalm which says, The gods of the peoples are demons, but the Lord made the heavens. And when she heard this, she interpreted and told her cunuchs the interpretation of the psalm, and she said, See that my father, and all they who are with him, worship the demons and ${ }^{1}$ Satans. And it behooves us to seek the interpretation of the Scriptures and the spiritual glory of eternal life, good for our souls. And her eunuchs accepted what she said. And they answered her and said to her, How does it become us, O

[^21]mistress, to save our soul? And she answered them and said to them, It is fitting that you cut off the hair of my head, and then I will put on man's attire, and we three will go unto the abbot of this blessed place; for I have heard concerning him that he does many great wonders, but he does not look upon the face of woman. And the eunuchs did as she commanded them; and they rose up and went, until they came unto the gate of the monastery. And they knocked, and they opened to them the gate of the monastery. And they came unto the church and prayed. And when they had finished, they went unto the abbot of that blessed place, whose name was Theodorus, a spiritual man; much do they tell of the goodness of this abbot, that he carried fire in his garment, and it did not burn, and he bore it whithersoever he would. And when they beheld this holy abbot, and saw the excellence of his doing, they bowed down unto him, and he blessed them and said to them, From whence are ye, my beloved? and what are the names of each one of you? And the maiden answered him and said to him, 0 saint of the Lord, as for me, my name is Eugenius, and my father worships idols; and as for these youths, they are my brothers. And the abbot said to them, Remain, 0 my children, and the will of Jesus Christ shall be done.

And while he was talking with them and teaching them there came into the monastery a sorcerer, with a great multitude of people, to contend with the abbot about the word of Christ our Lord. But the abbot was learned in the word of all the spiritual scriptures. And the abbot talked with the sorcerer, and he was not able to convert him. And the abbot said to the sorcerer, Let them kindle a great fire in the midst of this place, and I will go into the fire; and do thou also go in after me, and the one of us that comes forth alive, and is not burned, we shall know that his god is the true God. And the sorcerer was pleased with this plan. And when the fire was kindled, the abbot rose up and all the company with him, and they went with him there, and the maiden with her eunuchs, and they came unto the place. And the abbot drew near unto the fire, and signed his face with the sign of the cross and entered into the fire with his garments and with his shoes; and he drew near and stood in the fire half an hour of the day. And the fire was cold, and he came forth from the midst of it and not one of the hairs of his head nor one of the fibres ${ }^{1}$ of his garments was burned. And the multitude wondered at him for this marvel and they glorified God. And then they turned unto the sorcerer, and said to him, Arise, and go into the fire, even as the abbot went in, that we may know the might of thy god in this fire. And they made the sorcerer to draw near unto the fire, while he trembled, and when he drew near unto the fire, it blazed up and burned and seized his head and his beard. And then he cried out and shouted and implored the bishop saying, Save me, 0 lord, from the burning of the fire, for I believe in thy God, Jesus Christ the Nazarene. And when the abbot heard this word from him, he took him by his hand and brought him forth from the fire. And when the multitude saw this, they wondered at it and glorified God, and said, Our Lord Jesus Christ thy God, 0 our father, is in truth the true God. And the sorcerer entreated the abbot to baptize him in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit. And he baptized him

[^22]and all the multitude that came with him, and he taught them the word of life and he blessed them and prayed and spoke unto (?) them, and they went forth rejoicing and glorifying him, and they worshipped and worship our God Jesus Christ.

And Eugenius and her two eunuchs asked the abbot to baptize them and clothe them with the clothing of monasticism, and the holy one did so. And Eugenius and the two eunuchs abode three years, observing prayers and the reading of the Psalms and many vigils, until their appearance was changed and their flesh was reduced exceedingly from much affliction, and she did not neglect the reading of the spiritual scriptures.

And then her father sent men to seek her, and he despatched many horses and riders of them to seek her in all the land and the region adjacent to Alexandria, and they sought her and did not find a trace of her. And her father also and her mother grieved for her with a grief exceeding great, and they began to lament and weep much. And from the greatness of his grief for her, her father commanded them to make for him an image in her image and in her likeness. And they made it and placed it in his house. And when he came in and went out, he looked upon it and bowed down to it, that he might be comforted for his daughter.

And the holy and blessed abbot of the monastery abode three years in that place. And after that our Lord Jesus Christ received his elect soul unto himself. And the monks of the place mourned exceedingly for him. And when the monks saw the goodness of Eugenia's way and the wisdom of his reading in the scriptures of spiritual divinity, their judgment was to make him abbot of the monastery over them. And they conferred together and said, There is no one who shall sit upon the throne of the abbot of this monastery except this youth. And now also come, let us ask this holy youth Eugenius. And they besought him concerning it and they appointed him and they made him abbot of the monastery over them, but they did not know that she was a female. And the holy one applied herself to the service of the monastery and to all that was done for providing for the wants of the place, the bringing of water and the cutting of wood and the cleansing and purifying of the place; and she cooked for them and went into the city and bought the necessaries of the monks; and as for her, she stood at the time of the hours of prayer in her ${ }^{1}$ time always. And the monks knew no change from the former abbot of the monastery except her fair appearance. But this holy one, behold he benefitted them, as a strong horseman that is ready to fight with an enemy. And our Lord Jesus Christ gave her the fair gift of casting out demons and restoring the sick and opening the eyes of the blind.

And a noble woman of the great ones of Alexandria heard of the wonders of Eugenia the head of the monastery, and this woman had an unclean spirit upon her that distressed her much. And she said to her servants, Bring me unto the abbot of the monastery that he may restore me. And they did so, and she came unto the abbot of the monastery and fell at the feet of the saint of God, and said, Have compassion on me, O holy one of God, and deliver me from this my sickness. And the holy one prayed for her,

[^23]and Satan departed from the woman, and thereafter she was healed, and she went away. And when she came to her palace she sent unto the abbot of the monastery many presents. And when the holy one of God saw the presents, he said, Return unto your lady, for it is meet for her that she distribute among you and among the needy.

And after many days the woman who had recovered from her sickness came unto the abbot of the monastery and prayed there, and she saw the excellent beauty of Eugenius and she thought that he was a young man, and Satan stirred up her heart and she loved him in wickedness. And when she went unto her dwelling she took much riches and gems, pearls ${ }^{1}$ and fine raiment and bore it all until she brought it unto the gate of the monastery. And she called one of the monks, and said unto him, Be pleased to call to me here the abbot of the monastery that I may speak with him. And the monk went and told the saint, and said to him, $O$ our father, behold there is at the gate of the monastery one that would talk with thee. And the holy one of God went forth, and when the woman saw him, her heart burned with the strength of her evil love, and she questioned him and said to him, If thou dost desire, my lord, to take this wealth, and gems, pearls, and clothing, leave this place, and thou shalt not afflict thy soul, and come with me that thou mayest marry me, for my husband is dead. And when Eugenius heard this word from the woman, he knew that this evil word was of the persuasion of Satan, the evil-doer. And he answered and said to her, Depart from me, 0 woman, and take thy raiment and thy wealth, because Satan has entered into thee.

And she went to Alexandria in great shame and grief, and Satan brought her and led her unto the governor of Alexandria. And she said to him, Hear me, let me tell thee. There is in a certain place a young monk that is handsome and pleasing, who appears to men to be patient and good. For because I had need, I went unto that place with my menservants and my maidservants and lodged there. And when it was night, there came unto me this pleasing young monk while I slept, and he stood over me and wished to humble me. And if I had not cried out and called one of my maidservants, he would have dishonored me and wrought me shame. And when the governor heard this speech, he sent straightway unto the monastery many soldiers and horsemen and they surrounded the monastery and seized Eugenius and all the monks and brought them unto the governor. And when the governor saw the holy Eugenius and his monks, he did not talk with them at all at that time, but merely turned to the chief of his praefects and said to him, Take this youth and the monks and cast them into fetters, and punish them each with his due punishment. And there was great grief in the city of Alexandria because of these holy monks because they were judged. ${ }^{2}$

And on the third day the governor commanded them to bring the abbot of the monastery unto him. And they brought the holy one bound with chains and set him before the governor. And he said unto the holy one, Come unto me, 0 pleasing youth. And when he drew near unto him, then he said to him, Woe be unto thee! Is it so written in your gospel, and has

[^24]your Christ so commanded you, that ye should do a deed of fornication, whereby thou hast desired to dishonor this noble woman? And when the holy one of God heard the word of the governor, he bowed down once and knew that our Lord Jesus Christ desired and wished to reveal her secrets and show them. And she said, in the midst of the assembled people, As for this woman who says that I have sinned against her, as ye think, cause her to come and stand before me here. And the governor commanded them to bring the woman. And when she came before them, the holy one cried out before them and before her and said, Not for thy sake, 0 unclean one, is it that I reveal this secret this day, but that the name of my Lord and my God Jesus Christ may be glorified, and that these my brethren may be saved from this punishment. Then she turned unto her father the governor and said to him, If I tell thee truth, wilt thou judge this lying woman? And the governor said, 0 youth, say what thou hast to say. ${ }^{1}$ And she said unto him, Have me brought near unto thee, and let the people go forth hence, that I may speak once with thee. And the governor commanded that the people be removed, and she caused to draw near and she drew near unto him and she rent the opening of her garment upon her breast. And she said unto him, Gaze at me, and see my nature, O governor; I am thy daughter Eugenius, and I have done all this for the love of my Lord Jesus Christ. And when the governor saw this great wonder, he rushed unto his daughter and embraced her and wept; and he said, Thou art in truth my daughter and the apple ${ }^{2}$ of my eye and my child. And verily I say to thee, behold I believe in thy god my Lord Jesus Christ, the true God.

And he commanded straightway that they should bring forth the holy monks from the prison and bring them unto him. And when they came unto him he comforted them, and he commanded and treated them kindly and he gave them much wealth and sent them to their place. And for those of the monks that had died from the punishment, he commanded that they should make a funeral and bury them. And then he rose up and took his daughter the holy Eugenia by the ${ }^{3}$ hand and came with her unto his abode with joy and gladuess. And when her mother saw her she fell upon her breast upon her daughter, and she began to kiss her and she wept and said, 0 my daughter, is it not fitting that thou shouldest pity thy mother's grief and hunger and toil and tears? For my heart has been wounded in the length of all this age and these years for thy sake. And her father took a spade and an axe and he entered into the house of his idols and he broke all his gods which sat there, when he worshipped them. And then he went forth and sat upon his judgment seat and he commanded by a herald that they should open the churches and that Christians should return to their faith and should be taught their law as they were wont and should break down the house of the idols. And the city of Alexandria and all the region round about it rejoiced that day. And he rose up and went without shoes until he came unto the bishop of the city of Alexandria. And he was baptized, he and every man of his house, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.

And when the report of it came unto the king of Rome, who had placed

[^25]him over the city of Alexandria, and when the king knew that he had been baptized and believed on our Lord Jesus Christ, then he sent unto him a letter saying: How hast thou done, ${ }^{1}$ and how has it ocurred to thee to disobey my command and my law and thou hast broken my gods and hast despised my authority and hast followed Christ whom the Jews crucified? And now also know thou, if thou dost not turn from this opinion, I will punish thy flesh with every punishment. And when Philip the governor read the writing of the wicked king, he spat upon his letter and tore it, and he did not return to him a word, and did not send unto him legates. And when the men of Alexandria saw the goodness of the work of this blessed man and the strength of his faith, then the bishops of all the region of Egypt, from every place, ${ }^{2}$ gathered together and they made him patriarch of Alexandria, and he presided a year and a month as patriarch.

And after that there came another governor to Alexandria, and he desired to slay Philip the patriarch. But it was not possible for him to do it openly. But secretly the wicked governor sent unto him evil, treacherous men, and they made themselves like the holy Philip in the guise of Christians; and they came unto him while he stood praying in a church. And they slew him and he died, a great martyr, the martyr of Christ. And the holy Eugenia and her mother and the two eunuchs who were baptized with her abode with Eugenia in a certain place. And when the bishop of Rome knew the story of the holy Eugenia, he sent men to seek her and bring her unto him. And when he saw them he rejoiced greatly, and blessed them. And he took Eugenia and sent her unto a great convent, and the bishop blessed Eugenia and he placed her as abbess of a place of nuns; and there were beneath her hand three hundred nuns. And as for those eunuchs that were monks, the bishop took them, and set one over the district of Africa and the other over the district of Carthage.

And after many days there arose over the city of Rome an unrighteous and wicked and unbelieving king, and he brought back the idols and commanded them to close the churches and places of the holy monks and the monasteries. And the holy one went forth from the place just as a horseman goes forth to fight with men, and she withstood him and strove with him because of the faith of Christ, and shamed him to his face. And then he gave orders for her punishment. And the wicked men did not cease tormenting her until she completed her testimony and received a crown for the sake of Christ. And he will protect him that trusts in her and in him, and him who seeks his favor. And let us ask our Lord Jesus Christ the son of God first (?) that he give us forgiveness through the prayer of the holy Eugenia and her father Philip the patriarch, the martyrs; and through the intercession of our lady Mary the mother of light and through the prayers of Michael and of Gabriel may the Father have compassion on us. Glory to the holy and triune for ever and ever. Amen.

Through the prayer and through the petition and through the sanctity of Eugenia and through the holiness of Philip her father, may he watch over our father John, him who caused this to be written; may he write him in the book of life in heaven. Amen and Amen.

[^26]the epistle of pelagia

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# First <br> . 

THE EPISTLE OF PELAGIA

BY
EDGAR J. GOODSPEED
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PUBLISHED IN 1931

## THE EPISTLE OF PELAGIA

Under the name of Pelagia a number of saints and martyrs were venerated by the mediæval church, and various Pelagia legends are extant in Greek, Latin, and Syriac. ${ }^{1}$ The Ethiopic Pelagia, however, differs materially from all of these, and while it presents resemblances to two of them, it is chiefly interesting as relating a legendary episode in the life of Paul, very like one for which Jerome has hitherto been the chief sponsor. The Epistle of Pelagia is preserved in three British Museum manuscripts, Oriental 686 (C), Oriental 687-8 (B), and Oriental 689 (A), which have already been described in these pages. ${ }^{2}$ It stands tenth among the titles of 686 and 689, and eleventh among those of $687-8$, only Sergius and Bacchus standing between Cyprian and Justa and Pelagia. ${ }^{3}$ Of these manuscripts B and C are of the eighteenth century, and A of the fifteenth. As in the publication of Thekla and Cyprian from these manuscripts (Thekla from AB , and Cyprian from ABC ) the oldest manuscript has been preferred, and its text is presented, practically uncorrected, in the following pages, while all the variants of the younger manuscripts B and C , together with a few suggested emendations of the text of $A$, are collected in the footnotes.

The Ethiopic story of Pelagia is briefly as follows. Paul visits Cæsarea and preaches the gospel, but is arrested as an innovator and after being examined is suffered to depart from the city. Going into the mountains, he encounters a huge lion, which accosts him, and asks Christian instruction, or perhaps baptism. After teaching the lion, Paul returns to the city and restores a dead man to life. The interest thus aroused leads him to resume his preaching, and many believe. Among them is Pelagia, the king's daughter, who renounces her husband to follow Paul's teaching. The king is incensed at this and orders Paul to be arrested and thrown to a lion in the theater. The lion proves to be the one Paul has lately taught, and instead of devouring Paul, he joins with him in prayer and praise. Amazed at this, the authorities release Paul and the lion,

[^27]and they depart together. Pelagia is now seized and cast into the brazen cow; she goes in willingly, but rain extinguishes the fire. Her husband, seeing her resolution, kills himself by falling on his sword. The narrative closes abruptly, with no hint of the fate of Pelagia, with whom, it will be observed, it really has very little to do.

The best known of the Pelagia legends is that of Pelagia of Antioch, also called Margarita from her pearls, a rich courtesan, who became a Christian and later, under the name of Pelagius, a hermit. The story falls about the middle of the fifth century, and with it the Ethiopic Pelagia betrays no relationship. Another concerns Pelagia of Tarsus, who was beloved by the son of Diocletian. She left Tarsus in search of the fugitive bishop Clinon, from whom she received baptism. Her lover, in despair at her Christian profession, killed himself, and she suffered martyrdom in a brazen bull, a form of execution found in other acts of martyrdom, e. g., those of Irene. ${ }^{1}$ While insuperable differences of time and place distinguish the Ethiopic Pelagia of Cæsarea from this Pelagia of Tarsus, some parallels must not be overlooked. In both, the fugitive Christian leader (Clinon in the Tarsian story, Paul in the Cæsarean) flees into the country where he meets and teaches a Christian inquirer (Pelagia in the Tarsian story; the lion in the Cæsarean). In the Tarsian legend, Pelagia declines to marry the emperor's son; in the Cæ̈sarean, she is herself a king's daughter, and renounces her husband. In both the brazen cow or bull appears as a means of execution, and in both the lover or husband kills himself. Cæsarea, Paul, and the story of the lion, are wanting in the Tarsian legend. A third legend is that of Margarita, a betrothed maiden, who flees, disguised as a man, to a monastery, and becomes a monk under the name of Pelagius. ${ }^{2}$ She becomes abbot, but is degraded and expelled on a false charge, and becomes a hermit. Revealing her innocence just before her death, she is thenceforth known as Reparata. While this tale bears no resemblance to the Ethiopic, its heroine, Margarita-Pelagius-Reparata, may serve as a slender link between the Ethiopic's Pelagia of Cæsarea, and the only Cæsarean heroine in any way associable with the name of Pelagia - Reparata of Cæsarea, a girl of twelve years, who professed Christi anity before Decius, and was beheaded. ${ }^{3}$

While it is clearly impossible to derive the Ethiopic Pelagia in all its details, or even in its general outlines, from any of these legends, it is to

[^28]the story of Pelagia of Tarsus that it owes most. The substitution of Cæsarea for Tarsus as the scene of the story is probably due to the greater familiarity of the former name, rather than to any influence of the legend of Reparata (Pelagia) of Cæsarea. The comparison of the Ethiopic with the Tarsian story, too, suggests that some at least of the differences may be due to corruption incident to the successive translations through which the story has passed.

Perplexing as is the problem presented by the Pelagia of the Ethiopic, that suggested by its references to Paul is not less so. As ordinarily conceived, Paul's history has no place for a ministry and arrests at Cæsarea in Palestine; but the Ethiopic martyrologists were seldom hampered by historical or geographical considerations. The quaint story of the converted and friendly lion however assumes something like importance when read in the light of Jerome's words: "Igitur $\pi \epsilon \rho$ códous Pauli et Theclae et totam baptizati leonis fabulam inter apocrypha conputemus" (De viris illustribus, 7). Did Jerome know this story? Did he have vaguely in mind, not the Acts of Paul and Thekla alone, which, as Harnack points out, ${ }^{1}$ has no reference to a baptized lion; but, as the use of $\Pi_{\epsilon \rho i o \delta o r ~ w o u l d ~ s u g g e s t, ~ t h e ~ A c t s ~ o f ~ P a u l ~ a s ~ a ~ w h o l e ~ ? ~}{ }^{2}$ And did the Acts of Paul contain, not simply Paul's "Fight with Beasts at Ephesus," but also a "Deliverance Out of the Mouth of the Lion"? The Fight with Beasts has been recognized as a legendary elaboration
 'Eф́́ $\sigma \omega$, тí uo七 тò oै $\phi \in \lambda o s$; Certainly a similar process might have
 story as our Ethiopic preserves. And to no one can such a composition be more naturally attributed than to the imaginative author of the Acts of Paul. At the same time, the story of the Fight with Beasts, at least as given by Nicephorus, bears some resemblance to our story, and may adequately account for it, although there are striking elements in the Ethiopic for which Nicephorus affords no parallel. ${ }^{3}$ Thus the previous meeting of Paul with the lion, and the conversion of the latter

[^29]are wanting in Nicephorus. Further, while the Ethiopic does not precisely speak of the baptism of the lion, it is highly probable that its failure to do so is due to an error in translation, and that the version lying back of it described the lion as seeking and receiving baptism at the hands of Paul. The main elements of the Ethiopic Pelagia are thus derived from the story of Pelagia of Tarsus, and from some lost legend of Paul and the lion, of much the same sort as the Acts of Paul.
The first publication of this text was received by French and German scholars with more than ordinary interest. "Ce qui élève la publication de ce petit texte à la hauteur d'un événement," said the reviewer in the Analecta Bollandiana (xxiv), "c'est qu'on y retrouve la piste du fameux lion baptisé." He goes on to suggest that what the Ethiopic really means by what I first rendered "entering the great things of the Christians" is being admitted to full Christian status, that is, being baptized. Professor Gustav Krüger in the Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, V, 1904, pp. 261f, says: "Es wird wohl kein Zweifel sein, daß wir den gesuchten Löwen gefunden haben. Und nicht nur den getauften, sondern den redenden Kommodians dazu. Fraglich ist nur, ob wir es bei dem 'Brief der Pelagia' mit einem Stück der Paulusakten zu tun haben." The remark of Commodian of Gaza is "(Deus) leonem populo fecit loqui voce divina." Carl Schmidt (p. xxi) and Léon Vouaux (p. 44) refer to our baptized lion in their works on the Acts of Paul, the former reprinting the whole of the English text.
The writer's thanks are due the authorities of the British Museum for permission to publish from their Ethiopic manuscripts, and to Dr. Enno Littmann for some very helpful suggestions upon the Ethiopic text here presented.

## 


















a man. prim. क८: $\quad$ b MS. $6 . \mathrm{m}_{\mathrm{o}}$ :



 त甲: C. ${ }^{9}$ ती


































 10 Head : pro hav: H B. ${ }^{11}$ om. C. ${ }^{12} \boldsymbol{\Pi} \Phi \boldsymbol{h}$ : B, q. $l .{ }^{13}$ \& praef. C.









 ${ }^{60}$ h. $\ell$ ts.




















[^30]





















































a corr.; prim. man. huaqu'h : ?













































 C.7: $\boldsymbol{\text { : }}$







[^31]
## THE EPISTLE OF PELAGIA

The Epistle of Pelagia. When Paul came to the region of Cæsarea, he taught again there also the way of the Lord, according to his custom always; and they, even every man of the city, who doubted and did not believe in law, because they were not of it, reviled Paul, and they took him and seized him, and put him in bonds, saying to him, Thou hast brought unto us a law that is not ours. And he said to them, But ye also were not born of old, that ye should judge me. But now, what man seeketh of old-doth he not seek what is right and good? As said the prophet David, Know ye, know ye, that I am, and there is no other Lord beside me, saith God.

Ask your fathers and they will tell you, and your elders and they will inform you, whether there was anyone before him who did a wonder, and whether there was after him a creator of the universe, and there is none beside him.
He is from before the world, and he is after the world.
He is of old also,
and he is now, and there is no god beside him;
who spread out the heavens as a bowl,
and will roll them up like a scroll;
and everything decayeth and passeth away,
but he is God, and his years also fail not.
To him we will bow down, and him we will praise, and his might we will hallow, and his name we will worship and we will bow down.'
And then the judge wondered, and he despised him, and let him go.
And Paul departed toward the mountain. And as he walked there, Paul found a lion, and his height was twelve ${ }^{1}$ cubits, and his size as that of a horse. And he met Paul, and they saluted each other as though they knew each other. And the lion said unto Paul, Well met, Paul, servant of God, and Apostle of the Lord Jesus Christ! I have one thing which I ask thee to do unto me. And Paul said unto him, Speak; I will hear. And the lion said, Make me to enter among the mature ${ }^{2}$ Christians. And Paul took him and made him to enter among the mature Christians. And when he had finished the law of the seventh day, then they bade each other farewell. ${ }^{3}$ And again Paul returned to the city.

And a certain man said to him, My brother, who is older than I, is dead; and come, make a prayer in my house. And then Paul went and found him

[^32]that was dead, and he said, What aileth you? Do not weep, be silent. And Paul began to pray, and he said, My Lord Jesus Christ, who art not slow to do good, wherever they call upon thee, and name thee, thou art there, but there is not one that seeth thee, and that is able to see thee. For the sake of men shew thine eternal wonders, that man may not doubt and say, Where is this lord who is named the lover of men? Do thou, 0 Lord, give life to this man, for from thee is every gift; and even if that which thou hast given repent thee, do not take away the faith which thou hast given us. Give to this man faith, until thy power come again, even thy judgment which is not found vain. And he said, Thou man, arise. And he arose and regained consciousness ${ }^{1}$ and many believed, and followed him saying, Teach us also a faith such that, when one asks, one makes the dead to arise and live.

And he said to them, If ye have faith in your heart, as much as a mustard seed, then ye shall say to this mountain, Depart, and it will depart. See ye that faith saves in everything. And they said unto him, May we also hear it, we seek of thee. And he began to teach them; and he said to them, See Rahab the harlot, that by her faith she entered into the kingdom of heaven. And see that the three children were saved by their faith from the fire. See ye that by faith he saves. And by his faith Daniel was saved from the mouth of the lions. See ye Ezekiel the prophet; he was saved from the pit of clay. See Thekla, that by her faith she escaped from the fire and from the mouth of the lions. See Abraham, that for his faith God said to him, My friend. See Isaac, that by his faith he was saved from the sword and from the altar of sacrifice, and Isaac heard him who spoke. And see Joseph, that by his faith he escaped from the pit and from his brethren and from the hand of Pharaoh the king, and he became ruler. And why should I tell you of other prophets, and of our fathers also who pleased God? And see his brethren and his chosen ones; Elijah, who ascended alive into the heavens, and his creator made him ascend in a chariot of fire, with horses of fire drawing him at his command. And by his faith Elijah asked of God that it should not rain upon the earth three years and six months, and it was so. And see Elisha, who by his faith healed a leper, when he asked, and made the dead ${ }^{2}$ also to live, and this also by entreating Jesus Christ. And now also my brethren, believe with all your heart and with all your strength and with all your soul, that Christ, God the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, is one God, and all that ye ask he will give you and do for you. But I say unto you, if ye believe that the Lord is God and do not do his will, your faith is vain; and what doth it profit to believe, if ye do not the will of him in whom ye have believed? Behold, see, the demons also believe that God is Lord, and do not do his will. According therefore as they do not do his will and do not keep the commandment of God, they are vain. But if therefore ye believe that Christ is God, ye shall not steal, ye shall not commit adultery, and ye shall not worship idols, and ye shall not swear, and ye shall not covet your neighbor's substance; and honor thy father and thy mother, and fear God with all thy heart and with all thy strength and with all thy soul. Thou hast no other beside him, and he is thy

[^33]creator and thy father's creator; besides Jesus thou hast no other god. And of the fruit of thy house give unto the poor; the first fruits of thy harvest bring to the house of the Lord thy God.

And while Paul was proclaiming this commandment and teaching thus, there were many moreover who believed and renounced this world and followed the commandment of the Lord, and they followed Paul. And a woman whose name was Pelagia, daughter of the king, heard, and she renounced her husband and followed the exhortation of Paul. And her husband heard, and he told the king. And the king met ${ }^{1}$ Paul and said to him, Behold thou art corrupting for us all our people, and all, when they hear thine admonition, renounce the world. The husband also renounces his wife, and the wife also renounces her husband. And now also thou shalt pay for everything which thou hast done unto that Thekla. ${ }^{2}$ And he commanded that they should east Paul into prison; and they did as the king commanded. And they set a lion in ambush for Paul in the theater, and they set in ambush the one whose height was twelve ${ }^{3}$ cubits, and his size as that of a horse, the one that had met Paul, that Paul had made to enter among the mature Christians. And when they brought this lion and the king saw him, he marveled at his size, and said, Come now, we have found this day one that will devour Paul. And they brought Paul from the prison, and they brought him into the theater. And after Paul they brought the lion in to him. And it seemed to them that he would devour him, and they all said, But this day hath Paul met that which will punish him. And Paul stretched forth his hands and prayed; the lion also prayed after him; and Paul worshiped and the lion also worshiped with him. And when they had finished glorifying and praying, Paul also turned and said to the lion, Well met $!^{4}$ and the lion also said to Paul, Well met, ${ }^{4}$ our father! Well met! ${ }^{4}$ And Paul said to the lion, How is it that thou wast caught, who art so great? And the lion also said unto Paul, Thou also, behold thou wast caught, and they brought thee that I might devour thee. Did they not know that we were dear to one another? We are servants ${ }^{5}$ of our Lord. And after they had seen him talking with Paul, they all wondered and said, Great is the faith of this man; even the beast of the field obeys him, and the people hearken to him. And they said, Now take Pelagia, but let him go with his lion. And the lion and Paul departed. And then they said, everyone, There is the cow of brass; and kindle it, and let them cast her into it, or let her be obedient to her husband, and be like ordinary people. And they brought also the cow of brass, and they began to cast her into it. And at that moment there rained rain and extinguished it. But she wished to enter in. And when the husband saw her willingness to enter in, he took a sword and fell upon it on his face and died, because the beauty of Pelagia was wonderful, and she did not consider her beauty, and did not regard this passing world.

May her prayer be with our father John and prepare the portion of his habitations with the victorious martyrs. Amen.

[^34]
## Date Due




[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Lipsius, Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, I, 235-72.
    ${ }_{2}$ There are two Latin translations - one published in Bibliotheca Cassinensis, III Florilegium, 271 sqq.; the other in Mombritius, Sanctuarium II, 303 sqq.
    ${ }^{3}$ The Syriac, considered most important of the versions, at least until the Coptic, has been published by W. Wright, Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (1871), I, pp. ona sqq.; II, pp. 116 sqq., on the basis of four British Museum manuscripts.
    ${ }^{4}$ Translated by F. C. Conybeare, The Apology and Acts of Apollonius and Other Monuments of Early Christianity (1894), pp. 49-88, from select Armenian martyrdoms, published by the Mechitarists of San Lazaro, 1874.

    5 Parts of the Coptic version of the Acts of Paul, including the Acts of Thekla, are soon to be published, from a Heidelberg papyrus, by Dr. Karl Schmidt, of Berlin. Arabic (Assemani, Bibliotheca Orientalis, III, 1, 286-Harnack's reference to 268 is an error) and Slavonic versions also are known to exist, the latter in several codices; cf. Bonwetsch, in Harnack, Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius, I, pp. 901-5.

[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ A case almost analogous is that of the Ethiopic form of the first six books of the Apostolic Constitutions, which was based upon the Arabic version. There, however, a Coptic form of the Constitutions seems to have been intermediate between the parent Arabic version and the Ethiopic, which, as in the case of Thekla, was a free reworking. Cf. Harnack, op.cit., I, p. 517.

[^2]:    37 corr.; l. n8.":
    

[^3]:    ${ }^{1}$ Lit., the viaticum.
    ${ }^{2}$ In spite of the violence this translation does the verb, it seems the only possible rendering.
    ${ }^{3}$ by the word of God add. B.
    ${ }^{5}$ who shed his blood, A.
    ${ }^{4}$ and for the sake of our sins $a d d$. B. ${ }^{6}$ the wife of a man, A.

    - The extreme longth of Panl's diacourse - about one-fourth of the Ethiopic-finds no parallel in the Greek. Syriac, Armenian, or Latin. In the Ethiopic, as in the others, the inculcation of the virginity doctrine is framel in a series of beatitudes, but the Ethiopic has also made large use of the language of the gospel and epistles of John.

[^4]:    e The visit of Thamyris to Thekla and Theokleia's protest against her conduct, which precede Thekla's visits to Paul in the Greek and the versions, fall after her visits in the Ethiopic, and the account of Paul's imprisonment at the instance of Thamyris is omitted. Thekla's visit to Paul thus becomes in the Ethiopic a visit to the house of his host, Tamerenos, not, as in the Greek, Syriac, etc., a visit to his prison, and her behavior on that visit loses its original significance. The necessity for bribing the jailer with a silver mirror (Greek, Syr., Arm.) thus disappears. The single visit of the Greek, Syriac, and Armenian is seven times repeated in the Ethiopic, before Theokleia discovers what is going on. Then Paul is arrested for the first time, in the Ethiopic; while according to the Greek and the versions it is then that he is scourged and set at liberty, while Thekla is brought before the governor, and sentenced to the flames.

[^5]:    ${ }^{6}$ Lit., met.
    ${ }^{7}$ Or wondered.

[^6]:    'The attempted execution of Paul does not appear in the Greek or the versions.

[^7]:    ${ }^{1}$ Thessalonica: For this the Greek and the versions have Antioch, and they proceed to recount the story of Thekla's persecutions in that city, through the love and jealousy of Alexander, how she was repeatedly saved from death by a lioness - no doubt Jerome's baptizati leonis fabulam-baptized herself in the seal-tank of the arena, and was adopted by Tryphæna. Finally the older form of the Acts concludes with her visit to Iconium after the death of Thamyris, and her ultimate residence and evangelizing activity at Seleucia. With all this the Ethiopic has few points of contact. The loss is the more conspicuous since in this part of the early Acts stood Thekla's admitted claim to teach and to baptize, which gave the Acts of Paul and Thekla their chief interest and importance in the ancient church. It is enough to cite the locus classicus in Tertullian, De Baptismo 17 (ca. 190 A. D.) : Quodsi $q u i$ Pauli perperam inscripta legunt, exemplum Theclae ad licentiam mulierum docendi tinguendique defendunt, sciant in Asia presbyterum, qui eam scripturam construxit, quasi titulo Pauli de suo cumulans, convictum atque confessum se id amore Pauli fecisse loco decessisse. With the omission of two sayings-Thekla's answer to Paul, "He who commanded thee to preach, the same commanded me also to baptize," and Paul's charge to her, "Go [to the city of Iconium], teach there the commands and words of God"-the writer of the Ethiopic Thekla has lost quite half the point of his original. What he has left is a discourse inculcating virginity, and a somewhat elaborate though unconsummated martyrdom.

[^8]:    ${ }^{1}$ Lit., Have ye none who will help me. i Or who.
    ${ }^{2} \mathrm{Or}$ control.
    ${ }^{3}$ Thekla add. A.
    ${ }^{4}$ and thou dost refuse, B.
    ${ }^{5} \mathrm{~B}$; A, I have not sung (or mocked).
    ${ }^{6} \mathrm{He}$ said, A.
    ${ }^{s}$ And they . . . . lions om. B.
    ${ }^{9} \mathrm{Or}$ sealed.
    ${ }^{10} \mathrm{Or}$ thanks.
    ${ }^{11} \mathrm{Or}$ from eternity.
    ${ }^{12} \mathrm{Om} . \mathrm{A}$.

[^9]:    ${ }^{m}$ By Walda Giyōrgis (the son of George) the British Museum Catalogue understands the owner of the manuscript.

[^10]:    1 Theodor Zahn, Cyprian von Antiochien und die deutsche Faustsage, Erlangen, 1882.
    ${ }^{2}$ Cf. Zahn, op. cit., pp. 21-72, where German translations of the three parts are given.

[^11]:    1 Margaret Dunlop Gibson, Apocrypha Arabica ("Studia Sinaitica," VIII). London, 1901.
    ${ }^{2}$ P. Bodjan, Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum Syriace, Vol. 7. Loipzig, 1897.
    ${ }^{3}$ Agnes Smith Lewis, Select Narratives of Holy Women ("Studia Sinaitica," IX-X). Syriac Text and Translation. London, 1900.

    4 J. Rendel Harris, Homeric Centones, p. 36 ; Zahn, op, cit., pp. 15-17.
    ${ }_{5}^{5}$ Photius, Bibliotheca (od. Bokkor), pp. 128-9, cod. 184.

[^12]:    ${ }^{1}$ The closing words of the Ethiopic (p. 22), which I at first understood as pointing to a Syriac parent version (AJSL., Vol. XIX, p. 67, January, 1903), probably suggest rather a Coptic one.
    ${ }^{2}$ The Book of ThekLa, p. 5.
    ${ }^{3}$ The first eight titles of Oriental 689 are as follows:

    1. Homily of S. John Chrysos-
    2. Stephen.
    3. Eustathius.
    4. Thekla.
    5. Cyriacus. tom on S. John the Baptist.
    6. Mamas.
    7. Pantaleon.
    8. Cyprian and Justa.

    4 The Book of Thekla, pp. 5, 6.
    ${ }^{5}$ The opening titles of Oriental 687-8 are:
    1a. Homily of S. John Chrysostom on S. John the Baptist.
    2. Mamas.
    3. Fīāiladas.
    4. Stephen.
    5. Eustathius.
    6. Thekla.
    7. Cyriacus.
    b. Homily of S. John Chrysostom on the Life and Decolla-

[^13]:    ${ }^{1}$ The first titles of Oriental 686 run:

    1. Homily of S. John Chrysostom on S. John the Baptist. 2. Mamas.
    2. Fāsìladas.
    3. Stephen.
    4. Eustathius.
    5. Cyriacus.
    6. Pantaleon.
    7. Cyprian and Justa.
[^14]:    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
     en: BC. ${ }^{63} 9 \mathrm{Cinh}: \mathrm{BC}$.
     ${ }^{54} \mathrm{om}$. B.

[^15]:    ${ }^{\text {® }}$ corr.: prim. man. nhnnt : b MS. nत̃n" ${ }^{\text {c corr.; }}$ prim. man. 0 -h.man : ?
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
     ${ }^{23}$ 中品त: B om. C.
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    

[^16]:    ${ }^{1}$ Or, there was none that was pleasing to, or* fit for, her.
    ${ }^{2}$ Gr. Sin., $\pi \lambda \eta \rho \circ \dot{\prime} \mu \epsilon \nu 0 s \dot{\nu} \pi \dot{\partial} \dot{a} \gamma \gamma \epsilon \lambda \omega \nu$ : Gr. Act. Sanct., $\dot{v} \pi \dot{\partial} \dot{\alpha} \gamma \gamma \epsilon \lambda \omega \nu \mu \alpha \sigma \tau \iota \gamma \omega$ $\theta \in i s:$ Syr., when the demon was burned by the angel. Perhaps the Greek lying back of the Syriac had $\pi v \rho o v ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o s$.
    
    
    ${ }^{4}$ Lit., and. $\quad{ }^{5} \mathrm{Or}$, that it weigh. ${ }^{6} \mathrm{AB}$, Tartinon; C, Tertinus.

[^17]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. H. Usener, Legenden der heiligen Pelagia, p.xviii; Migne, Patrologia, Vol. 116, 609 sqq.; Rosweyde, p. 340.
    ${ }^{2}$ A. S. Lewis, Select Narratives of Holy Women (Studia Sinaitica, IX, X).
    ${ }^{3}$ Pp. 5, 6, 43; "The Story of Eugenia and Philip" stands twenty-fifth among the tities of Oriental 686, and twenty-seventh among those of Oriental 687-8 and 689.

[^18]:    a man. prim. $\omega$ LH : \& त : ?
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
     n: C. ${ }^{1 s}$ Hetrinc: $C$.

[^19]:    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    

[^20]:    ${ }^{2}$ corr.; man. prim. ©NONUPG• : ?
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    

[^21]:    ${ }^{1}$ Or, even the.

[^22]:    ${ }^{1}$ Or, "any of the nap."

[^23]:    ${ }^{1}$ Lit., "his."

[^24]:    ${ }^{3}$ Or, "gems of pearls." ${ }^{2}$ Or, "punished."

[^25]:    ${ }^{1}$ Lit., "what is with thee." "Lit., "bag." "Lit., "his."

[^26]:    "The original perhaps had, "How hast thou dared." ${ }^{2}$ Or, "see."

[^27]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cl. H. Usener, Legenden der heiligen Pelagia, 1879; Acta Sanctorum, passim; Agnes S. Lewis, Select Narratives of Holy Women (Studia Sinaitica, IX, X).
    ${ }^{2}$ Pp. 5, 6, 43.
    ${ }^{8}$ For the earlier titles cf. p. 43.

[^28]:    ${ }^{1}$ C\%. A. S. Lewis, Select Narratives, etc., Translation, p. 135.
    ${ }^{2}$ 11. Usener, Legenden der heiligen Pelagia, p. xvi; Acta Sanctorum, July, tom. 4, pp. 287 8q.

    - IUid., pp. xvl, xvil; Acta Sanctorum, October, tom. 4, p. 24.

[^29]:    ${ }^{1}$ Harnack, Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur; Chronologie, I, p. 494.
    ${ }^{3}$ The reference to Thekla in the latter part of the Ethiopic Pelagia probably has no significance in connection with the lion story, although its occurrence at once recalls Jerome's words.
    ${ }^{3}$ Nicephorus Callisti, Hist. Eccles., II, 25 (Migne, 145, col. 822). This story, which Nicephorus attributes to the $\Pi$ qœiodo $\Pi$ Mavi 20 , is as follows: A huge lion is let loose upon Paul in the amphitheater at Ephesus, but instead of rending him it fawns upon him; Paul is set at liberty, and the lion escapes. (Cl. Zahn, Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons, II, p. 880.) In Hippolytus's Commentary on Daniel
    
    
     pp. 491, 492). The writer evidently believes this story; and Harnack accepts his reference to it as
    

[^30]:    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
     47 ก48079'T: C.

[^31]:    
    
    
    
     n.Z: BC. ${ }^{20}$ om. C. ${ }^{21} \mathbf{Z}$ add. BC. ${ }^{22}$ ennt: C. ${ }^{23}$ triare : BC.
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
     av : 9ก90 \% add. B .

[^32]:    ${ }^{2}$ Nincteen, B.

    - Perhaps an error in transiation 3 les back of this; e. g., confusion of the Coptic words for "baptism" and for "great, much." C/. Jerome, De rir. ill. 7, "totam baptizatl leonls fabuiam," and Marnack, Chronologie, I, pp. 494, 495. At any rate the phrase is a way of conveying the Idea of baptism.
    ' Llt., with the lion.

[^33]:    ${ }^{1} \mathrm{Pl}$.

[^34]:    ${ }^{1}$ Or, recelved. Melagla, C. Nlneteen, 11. *Or, Well done! Wonderful! 'Llt., a servant.

